London



# Civic rights & DUTIES

Edinburgh



Dublin







## THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON



THE LORD MAYOR
OF DUBLIN

THE LORD PROVOST OF EDINBURGH

#### THE

# CIVIC READER

OR CHAPTERS ON

## CIVIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES

EDITED BY

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BEN JONSON



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#### PREFACE.

This little book aims at depicting the Rights and Duties of the English Citizen in a three-fold aspect. Every Englishman is, at once, a dweller in a Municipality, a freeman of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and a citizen of that great and glorious "Empire on which the sun never sets," and "whose morning drum-beat encircles the globe."

This last phase of civic life has been enlarged upon somewhat, because, whilst there is no danger of the citizen forgetting his local rights and duties, and but little chance of his not remembering his privileges and obligations to the State, there is the possibility that he may fail to bear in mind that he has fellow-citizens in every quarter of the globe; that, in common with them, he shares in the noble heritage his forefathers won; and that it is, above all, his duty to forward, by all the means in his power, the progress and welfare of that great trust.

To ensure the correctness of the information contained in the following pages, portions of the work were entrusted to specialists, and the thanks of the editors and publishers are due to Admiral Moresby, R.N.; to Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Alexander, R.E.; and to W. H. Moresby, Esq., M.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-law, of the Inner Temple, for their assistance.

The editors also desire to express their indebtedness to the published works of Sir William Anson, Bart.; James Anthony Froude, Samuel Laing, J. Scott Keltie, and Dr. Wild, which they have freely consulted.

It is the hope of all concerned in the production of this volume that it may lead its readers, one and all, to devote more attention to the glorious institutions of our native land, and to that Greater Britain beyond the seas.

#### THE

#### CIVIC READER.

#### INTRODUCTION.

## THE CITIZEN.

"What is it that you would impart to me?

If it be aught toward the general good,

Set honour in one eye, and death i' the other,

And I will look on both indifferently."

SHAKSPERE.

T is the nature of all men to take pleasure in one another's company. Even the lower animals—the beasts of the forest and the birds of the air—herd and flock together;

but the power is given to the human race alone to enjoy the blessings of a rational government.

The first ideas of government arose, no doubt, from the relation existing between a father and his children. In times gone by the father was the ruler of his family; and it seems just to suppose that the head of a family would rule sons, grandsons, and, in fact, all who were near and dear to him. The duties of rulers and parents are, in many respects, closely allied; both are bound by the holiest ties to promote the welfare and happiness of those in their charge; both are entitled to respect and obedience; and the highest title that can be given to any ruler is "the father of his country."

In former times, fathers exercised an absolute sway over their families, and it was held within their right to deprive their children of life, in cases of gross misconduct; but the rules which govern a family are more limited than the laws of a country.

When *children* grow up to manhood and womanhood, they are as *free* as their parents; but *citizens* are always *under* the *control* of the laws of their country.

Governments may and do inflict capital punishment; but no parent is allowed to do so.

The law speaks with authority, and commands; the parent advises or entreats, as soon as his children are old enough to distinguish between right and wrong.

The earliest governments of the world were far from being perfect, and their sway was over a limited area, for every village had its own chief.

Even in our own day the *village* may be looked upon as the smallest unit in the State; and loyalty to the village in which we live should lead us to do all we can to advance its interests.

"The affections which bind a man to the place of his birth are essential in his nature, and follow the same law as that which governs every innate feeling. They are implanted in his bosom along with life, and are modified by every circumstance which he encounters from the beginning to the end of his existence.

"The sentiment which, in the breast of any one man, is an instinctive fondness for the spot where he drew his early breath, becomes, by the progress of mankind and the formation of society, a more enlarged feeling, and expands into the noble passion of patriotism.

"The love of country, the love of the village where we were born, of the field which we first pressed with our tender footsteps, of the hillock which we first climbed, are the same affection, only the latter belongs to each of us separately; the first can be known but by men united in masses. It is founded upon every advantage which a nation is supposed to possess, and is increased by every improvement which it is supposed to receive." <sup>1</sup>

"Whatever strengthens our local attachments, is favourable both to individual and national character. Our home, our birthplace, our native land—think for awhile what the virtues are which arise out of the feelings connected with these words, and if you have any intellectual eyes, you will then perceive the connection between topography and patriotism.

"Show me a man who cares no more for one place than another, and I will show you, in that same person, one who loves nothing but himself. Beware of those who are homeless by choice; you have no hold on a human being whose affections are without a tap-root. The laws recognise this truth in the privileges they confer upon freeholders; and public opinion acknow-

<sup>1</sup> Chenevix.

ledges it also in the confidence which it reposes upon those who have what is called a stake in the country.

"Vagabond and rogue are convertable terms; and with how much propriety anyone may understand who knows what are the habits of the wandering classes, such as gipsies, tinkers, and potters." <sup>1</sup>

Our duty, as good citizens, lies first in the home. Here we may all of us do much to brighten the lives of those who are near and dear to us. Secondly, it is our duty to do our best to render the lives of our neighbours happier and more prosperous. Our forefathers in the dim past knew no law but

"The good old plan,
That he should take who has the power,
And he should keep who can;"

but modern thought has set up a far higher rule than this for our guide in life.

The good citizen sees, in all who dwell around him, fellows whom it is his duty to help and aid by all the means in his power; and this leads him to enlarge his field of sympathy to his countrymen.

He strives to lead such a life, that whilst he tries his best to improve his position in the world, it is not to be at the expense of others. He remembers that he is a unit in a grand brotherhood, bound together by ties of mutual interest. He strives

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Southey.

"To live by rule,
Acting the rule we live by without fear,
And because right is right to follow right,
Were wisdom in the scorn of consequence."

We can best realise the life that a citizen ought to lead by thinking of those great men in the past, who, heedless of self, helped to make our land what it is—the foremost country on the face of the earth.

England's high position has been the work of those patriots who ever strove to do their duty; who denied themselves much that would have been pleasant in order to enhance the welfare of their native land. Many of them, like Nelson, Lawrence, and Gordon, died at the post of duty; for

"Not once or twice in our rough island-story
The path of duty was the way to glory."

The citizen who sacrifices selfish interests to the good of the community, as Brutus did in the days of ancient Rome, would deserve to have his character recorded as his was—

"This was the noblest Roman of them all.

All the conspirators, save only he

Did that they did in envy of great Cæsar;

He, only, in general honest thought,

And common good to all, made one of them.

His life was gentle; and the elements

So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up,

And say to all the world, 'This was a man.'"

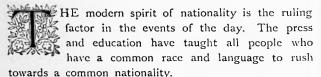
2.

#### THE NATION AND THE STATE.

"In a free country there is much clamour with little suffering; in a despotic state there is little complaint, but much suffering."

CARNOT.

"That state is best ordered where the wicked have no command and the good have." PITTACHUS.



As stores tend to supersede shops, so peoples who go to school and read, and who are of the same race or speak the same language, tend to rush together and form great empires. Great races, like the Germans and Italians, with a glorious common literature and history, refuse to be cut up into petty states in order to give their neighbours the pleasure of bullying them when they will, and insist on taking their natural place amongst the foremost nations of the world.

The last fifty years have seen several instances of this, till Europe, instead of consisting of a number of little states, has been moulding itself into great nations, bound together by a common language, as in the case of Italy, or by a unity of race, as in Germany. France, the disturber of the peace of Europe, has had much to do with this; her attacks upon Italy helped to weld together the Italian nation; and the result of the Franco-German war was to bring about a united German Empire.

The great nations that have been formed in modern times resist to the death any question of dismemberment. Thus, the United States drew the sword and fought out a long and costly war rather than consent to the repeal of the Union.

So we see that-

People bound together by ties of blood, a common language, or a common history, form a *Nation*; and that People living under one government form a *State*.

When we think about governments, we shall find that all the varieties can be classed under two heads, namely, representative governments and despotic governments. We shall briefly consider the latter first, as it is by far the simplest form.

A despotic or absolute monarch makes his own laws and rules as he pleases. Despotic governments among civilised peoples are now very rare; perhaps the only despot now reigning is the Shah of Persia, who has absolute power over the lives of his subjects. The Czar of Russia, the Sultan of Turkey, and the Emperor of China are absolute to a great extent, but have advisers who prompt much of their action.

Representative governments are of many kinds. The general principle underlying them all is that the people themselves appoint their rulers; thus, in the United

States, which is a *republic*, the people elect a president to exercise the ruling power for a certain number of years.

In *Limited Monarchies*, such as our own, the monarch can only rule after certain fixed plans; and the laws of the country are made and administered by a body of men called the *Legislature*, most of whom are elected by the people, and are responsible to them.

" What constitutes a state? Not high-raised battlements, or laboured mound, Thick wall or moated gate; Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned, Nor bays and broad-armed ports, Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride; Nor starred and spangled courts, Where low-browed baseness wasts persume to pride. No! MEN, high-minded MEN. With powers as far above dull brutes endued, In forest, brake, or den. As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude : Men who their duties know, But know their rights; and, knowing, dare maintain; Prevent the long-aimed blow. And crush the tyrant, while they rend the chain-

These constitute a state;

And sovereign law, that state's collected will,

High over thrones and globes elate, Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill."

SIR WILLIAM JONES.

З.

#### REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

"Are you all resolved to give your voices?

But that's no matter; the greater part carries it."

SHAKSPERE.

N all forms of representative government, as we have already stated, the people have a voice in the choice of their rulers and law-makers; men vote and elect rulers and law-makers as a right, not as a privilege; for government exists for man, not man for governors.

As, then, all men are politically free, the aim of the laws they help to frame must be to defend the weak against the strong, the simple against the cunning, and the poor against the rich. A representative government is nothing more or less than a contract formed by the people for their mutual protection, defence, and to secure their just rights.

Hence, the duty of every man is plain; his own interest, and the interest of those dear to his heart, require him to make known his wishes with regard to the government of his town or his country at the polls.

It is clear that all the people of a village even would form too large a number to frame rules for their own guidance; and it would not be possible to assemble all the men of a town or of the whole country for this purpose; hence, voters choose or elect certain of their number to carry out their wishes.

Every voter is bound to support by his voice at the poll such measures as he believes will be for the common good. If he does not vote, he not only gives up one of his most valuable privileges, but neglects an important duty. The boast of our government is that it represents the wish of the nation at large; therefore, it is the duty of all to record their votes; for, if they do not, the people are not wholly but only partly represented.

Of course, as the people rule, the minority, that is the lesser number, must always submit to the majority; but, at the same time, all minorities are entitled to equal rights with the majority; and any violation of the rights of a minority, however small, would be an act of oppression.

Let us remember that as we enjoy much liberty, as every citizen is a voter and a law-maker, so every one of us should make a study of these questions. Let us then turn our attention to them, as it is the duty of all of us to learn all we can about these matters, as some day we shall all be voters.

Government in this country is partly local and partly central.

Local Government in villages, boroughs, or counties, deals with the drainage of the area under its control, with the relief of the poor, with the paving and lighting of streets, with public parks and play-grounds, and with many other local affairs.

There is, too, a separate body in almost every borough and village whose duty it is to see that children attend school, and to provide for their instruction whilst they are there. The *Central Government* controls the army, navy, and post office; appoints judges, and sees that justice is done to all alike; it also collects the national taxes, and lays out the annual income of the country to the best advantage.

The easiest way to study the working of these two branches of government is to commence with the simplest, local government, and then advance to the more complex branch of central government.

#### PART I.-LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

4.

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICTS.

"Order is the sanity of the mind, the health of the body, the peace of the city, the security of the state." Southey.

HE origin of local government in England must be sought in the early communities of our Saxon forefathers. When they first settled in England, these were nothing but groups of self-governed villages, which only united for common action in times of war.

Our modern plan of local government is founded on the county system. As we all know, the counties vary very much in size, from Rutland, the smallest, with less than one hundred thousand acres, to Yorkshire, with over three millions.

The greatest division of counties is to be found in Yorkshire, under the name of *Ridings* or Thirds; in

Lincolnshire, under the name of *Parts*; in Sussex, under the name of *Rapes*; and in Kent, under the name of *Lathes*.

Thus, there are three ridings in Yorkshire—the North, East, and West; Lincolnshire is divided into the three parts of Holland, Kesteven, and Lindsey; Kent has five lathes, and Sussex six rapes; these being again divided into hundreds and parishes.

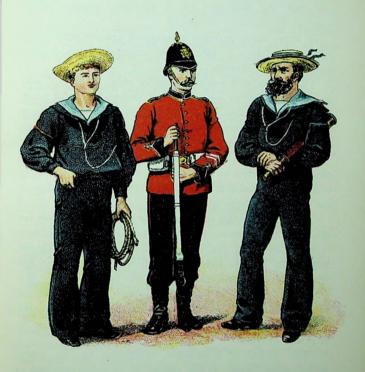
In these names survive relics of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers; for, in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, we find mention of the people of Lindsey, the same Lindsey which still forms the County Council district; we read much there of the Isle of Ely; and the name Soke of Peterborough carries us back to Saxon times when a soc or council met in that old city.

The four northern counties—Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham—are divided into *Wards*, a term which doubtless refers to the duty of the natives to keep watch and ward in olden times.

A smaller division of the county is to be found in the *hundreds*, or "wapentakes," as they are called in the North; but the *parish* is still, as it has ever been, the simplest area of local government and taxation.

The hundreds were, no doubt, at first, districts which contained a hundred families; they are of ancient date, as hundreds are mentioned in Domesday Book.

The wapentakes were so called, say some, because the people were formerly taught the use of arms; the word "wapentake" being derived from "weapon" and "take," just as "wapinschaw" in Scotland, meaning an · MARINE -



A B . SEAMAN .

· COAST GUARD ·

exhibition of arms, is derived from "weapon" and "show." Others tell us that "wapentake" means "weapon touch," and that the followers of a chieftain touched their weapons in token of allegiance.

In most cases, parishes correspond exactly with townships or "villages;" but, in some cases, parishes contain more than one township.

The parish still maintains many relics of its old corporate life. Parish overseers still collect the local rates, and compile the lists of voters; and the parish folks keep up their old dignity in their vestry meetings, when they choose these officers.

Churchwardens and overseers of the poor are the officers appointed by the people of parishes meeting in vestry—the former to attend to the affairs of the church, the latter to relieve the poor.

To return to the counties. The chief officers here are the *Lord Lieutenant*, nominated for life as the military representative of the Queen; and the *High Sheriff*, nominated for one year by the Crown, as the chief civil representative of his sovereign in the county.

The management of county affairs is mainly vested in the county magistrates, who are nominated by the Lord Chancellor; and their duties will be spoken of in a future chapter.

The Board of Guardians, controlled by the Local Government Board, is the centre of local government of the hundreds. Each Board of Guardians consists of the county magistrates residing in the hundred, who must not exceed one-third of the whole board, and of a

number of members elected by the owners of property and the ratepayers of the district.

In most unions, the Board of Guardians meets under the presidency of a chairman, chosen by the members of the Board. Its business chiefly consists of the management of the workhouse, granting out-door relief to the poor, which is given directly by the relieving officers.

The parish is the educational unit of the country. Where no school was attached to the parish church, or where that school did not provide sufficient accommodation for the children of the parish, a *School Board* has been elected to provide for that education.

#### 5.

#### SCHOOL DISTRICTS, &c.

"'Tis education forms the common mind; Just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclined."

POPE.



F late years, education has become a subject of general care and attention. "I have no sympathy whatever," says a distinguished modern writer, "with those who would grudge

our workmen and our common people the very highest reducation which their taste or their time or their iinclinations would lead them to realise; for I certainly say that the object of my fondest aspirations is the moral and intellectual, and, as a sure consequence of this, the economical advancement of the working classes—the one object, which, of all others in the wide range

of political speculation, is the one which should be dearest to the heart of every philanthropist and every true patriot."

Let us see what the State has done of late years for the education of the people.



THE RIGHT HON, W. E. FORSTER.

Before the year 1870 the education of the masses was entrusted to the voluntary efforts of the Church of England and other religious bodies, aided by a Government grant; but in that year a great change was made in our national educational system.

In 1870, the late Mr. Forster stated in the House of Commons that about half the children in this country attended no school at all. At that time there were no board schools and no School Boards, and Mr. Forster brought in a Bill to establish these. "Our object," said he, "is to complete the voluntary system, and to fill up gaps."

The Bill he passed through the Houses of Parliament divided the country into school districts, adopting the boundaries of the boroughs for towns, and of the parishes for the county. Where a district was well supplied with schools, it was left alone by the Act. But it was not enough that the existing schools were good schools, giving a suitable education; they were to be worked under a conscience clause—that is to say, children were to be free to attend for instruction in the ordinary subjects, although they might be withdrawn from all religious teaching, which was given either at the beginning or at the end of the school session.

Where a school district was not well supplied with schools in which the conscience clause was adopted, a *School Board*, chosen by the ratepayers, was set up; and to these bodies large powers are entrusted. They may levy rates to set up schools of their own; and they frame their own bye-laws in order to enforce attendance at school

Their income is derived from the rate they levy and the Government grant they earn. They issue a precept upon the rating authority, stating the amount they require, and call upon that authority to raise a rate for that purpose. They have power to borrow money of the Public Works Loan Committee, for the purpose of building schools, to be repaid by instalments in fifty years.

The effect of this Act was to divide the whole country into School Districts, which are either single parishes or groups of parishes. Board schools are open at all times to the visits of Her Majesty's Inspectors, and they must fulfil the conditions of the Education Code, which is annually submitted to both Houses of Parliament, and has the force of an Act of Parliament.

The Education Act of 1870 established School Boards where there was a lack of existing schools, and gave them the power of enforcing attendance; but more than half the people of England lived in districts where there were voluntary schools enough to provide places for every child; and, in such districts, there were no bodies to enforce regular attendance. The Act of 1876 provided that where no School Board existed, a School Attendance Committee should be appointed to enforce attendance at school.

Then came the Act of 1880, which forbids any person to employ children under the age of ten years, in order that careless parents may have no excuse to keep them away from school. Children between ten and thirteen may be employed half-time, and attend school half-time, if they have passed a certain standard, which varies in different places; but if a child does not pass this standard, he is bound by law to attend school till he is fourteen years of age.

Lastly, the Act of 1891 made nearly all the board and other elementary schools of the country virtually free to the children who attend them.

School Boards are elected by what is called the Cumulative System of Voting, which consists in giving to each elector as many votes as there are members to be elected, and allowing him to give all his votes, or as many of them as he pleases, to one candidate only, or some of his votes to one candidate and some to others. The votes are given by ballot, in a way we shall explain when treating of the election of members of Parliament. School Boards vary in size according to the area of the district, from five members in places with less than five thousand people up to fifty-five in the Metropolis.

6

#### THE POOR LAW UNION.

"Helping everyone in need is far beyond the means of any private person. For a private man's wealth is no match for such a demand. Also a single man's opportunities are too narrow for him to contract friendship with all. Wherefore, providing for the poor is a duty that falls on the whole community, and has regard only to the common interest."

Spinoza.

ROVISION for the support of the poor has existed in England for a long time. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth a famous statute was passed which enacted that all maimed and impotent persons should be provided for at the expense of the parishes in which they were born and

brought up, and that work should be found for the ablebodied poor who were unable to find employment.

From this period the law of England has regarded every parish as a family, the richer members of which are bound to provide for those who could not provide for themselves.

After many experiments had been tried, all of which turned out to be more or less unsuccessful, the *Poor Law Amendment Act*, of 1834, introduced a new system. Under this Act the country has been divided into *Poor Law Unions*, which consist of many or few parishes, according to size, in which the control of all matters relating to the poor is entrusted to a Board of Guardians elected by the ratepayers.

The larger towns, with their suburbs, were made into separate unions, as were the old parishes, wherever they extended over a large area, and contained a sufficient number of people. In the case of the rural districts, twenty or thirty parishes were grouped round the nearest market-town to form a Poor Law Union, so that England is now divided into about six hundred and fifty unions, thirty of which are in the Metropolis.

Each parish in a union, or each ward in one of the large towns, elects one representative or more, according to population, to sit on the Union Board, of which the magistrates are members by virtue of their office, although they rarely attend.

"When a Board of Guardians is once in operation, its duties are very extensive; it dispenses all relief, appoints all paid officers, and administers all other Poor

Law business in the Union." They hear and consider any applications for relief, and grant either admission to the workhouse or aid in kind and money outside.

The Relieving Officer, who is appointed by the Board of Guardians, receives "all applications for relief made to him within his district, and examines into the circumstances of every case by visiting the house of the applicant, and making all needful inquiries." He presents his report at the next meeting of the Guardians. This report is laid before the chairman, for him to record the decision of the Guardians on the "board day," when the applicant for relief is also summoned to attend.

Out-door Relief, which consists in grants of a weekly allowance to the sick and infirm, is paid by the relieving officer weekly. Able-bodied men who are "out of work" are employed, in some Unions, to perform part of the parish work, instead of being sent to the workhouse.

Another form of out-door relief is the medical. The Guardians appoint a medical officer for each district, whose duty is to give advice and supply medicine to the ailing poor.

In-door Relief is chiefly given in workhouses, one of which has been built in each Union, and officered by a doctor, master and matron, chaplain, schoolmaster, nurse, porter, and their assistants. Paupers, upon admission by order of the Guardians; or, temporarily, by that of the relieving officer; or, in cases of dire necessity, by that of the master, are searched, cleansed, clothed, and placed in the proper ward. Whilst they stay here no one who can work is allowed to be idle. The children

are under the control of the school teachers; and, in all workhouses, there must be separate departments for the aged, for men, for women, for boys, for girls, for young children, and for the sick.

The Guardians are elected annually, in April, by the owners and ratepayers of the Poor Law Union, and the contest is conducted by means of voting-papers which are left at the house of each voter, who places his or her initials opposite the name of the persons for whom he or she votes. The papers are left at the house on the seventh of April, collected on the eighth, and the result of the poll is declared on the ninth.

# 7. COUNTY COUNCILS.

"Draw near,
And list what with our council we have done."

Shakspere.

OCAL Government in England was, for many years, in such a state of confusion, and each new Act added so much to complicate matters, that, in 1888, a new Bill was passed called

the "Local Government Act of England and Wales." As our present system of local government is chiefly the outcome of this statute, it will be well for us to master its principal provisions.

A Council was established in every administrative county, and was entrusted with the management of the financial and administrative business of the county; and

## ADMINISTRATIVE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

No.	County.	Population.	No.	County.	Population.
1	Anglesey	50,079	34	London	4,231,431
2	Bedford	160,729	35	Merioneth	49,204
3	Berkshire	238,446	36	Middlesex	. 560,318
4	Brecknock	458,739	37	Monmouth	226,086
5	Buckingham	185,190	38	Montgomery	
6	Cambridge	188,862	39	Norfolk	456,474
7	Cardigan	62,596	40	Northampton	
8	Carmarthen	130,574	41	Northumberland	506,096
9	Carnarvon	125,596	42	Nottingham	
10	Chester	537,312	43	Oxford	188,225
11	Cornwall	318,601	44	Pembroke	89, 125
12	Cumberland	266,550	45	Peterboro', Soke of	
13	Denbigh	116,688	46	Radnor	21,791
14	Derby	619,691	47	Rutland	20,659
15	Devon	631,767	48	Shropshire	236,324
τ6	Dorset	178,965	49	Somerset	484,326
17	Durham	1,016,449	50	Stafford	1,087,273
18	Ely, Isle of	63,782	51	Suffolk, East1 1	369,351
19	Essex	785,339	52	,, West <sup>1</sup> \	
20	Flint	77,189	53	Surrey	1,436,899
21	Glamorgan	687,147	54	Sussex, East1 }	550,442
22	Gloucester	548,911	55	,, West <sup>1</sup> [	
23	Hampshire	690,086	56	Warwick	805,070
24	Hereford	113,391	57	Westmoreland	51,668
25	Hertford	220,125	58	Wiltshire	264,969
26	Huntingdon	57,772	59	Worcester	413,755
27	Isle of Wight	78,718	6a	York, East Riding	399,412
28	Kent	782,643	61	,, North Riding	368,237
29	Lancaster	3,926,798	62	,, West Riding	2,441,164
30	Leicester	373,963			
31	Lincoln, Lindsey1			There is but one Lord-Li	
32	,, Kesteven <sup>1</sup>	472,778		hole County, but there is ty Council for each Divis	
33	" Holland <sup>1</sup>		Coun	ty Council for each Divis	



#### COUNTY BOROUGHS OF ENGLAND AND WALES, &c., in order of Population.

No.	County Bazough.	Population.	Position.	No.	County Borough.	Population,	Position,
1	Liverpool		Lancaster.				
2	Manchester	517,951 505,343	Zaticaster.	37	Rochdale	71,458	Lancaster.
3	Birmingham		Warwick.	38	Tottenham2		Middlesex.
4	Leeds	429,171 367,506	Warwick.	39	St. Helens	71,288	Lancaster.
3 1	Sheffield		York, West Riding.	40	Steckport	70,253	Chester and Lancaster.
5	Bristol	324,243	Gloucester and Somerset.	41	Aston Manor <sup>2</sup>	68,639	Stafford.
7	Bradford	221,665	Gloucester and Somerset.	42	York	66,954	York, North, East, and
8	Nottenal	216,361	York, West Riding. Nottingham.				West Ridings.
0	Nottingham West Ham	211,934	Nottingham.	43	Southampton	65,325	Hants,
10	Visa to a little	204,902	Essex.	44	Leyton <sup>2</sup> Willesden <sup>2</sup>	61,105	Essex.
11	Kingston-upon-Hull	199,991	York, East Riding.	45	Willesden <sup>2</sup>	61,266	Middlesex.
12	Salford.	199,136	Lancaster.	46	Northamston	61 or6	Northampton,
	New castle-on-Tyne	186,345	Northumberland,	47	Reading West Bromwich	60,054	Berks.
13	Portsmouth & Southsea	159,255	Hants.	48	West Bromwich	59,489	Stafford.
14	Leicester	142,051	Leicescer.	49	Merthyr Tydfil2	58,080	Glamorgan.
15	Oldham	131,463	Lancaster,	50	lpswich	57,200	Suffolk, East,
16	Sunderland	130,921	Durham.	51	Bury	57,206	Laucaster.
77	Cardiff	128,849	Glantorgan.	52	Wigan	FF 555	Lancaster.
18	Blackburn	120,061	Lancaster.	53	Hanley	54,846	Stafford.
19	Brighton	115,402	Sussex, East.	54	Devonport	54,736	Devon.
20	Hulton	115,002	Lancastera	55	Naumout	54,730	Monmouth.
21	Preston	107,573		56	Newport <sup>1</sup> Warrington <sup>2</sup>	54,695	Lancaster.
32	Croydon	102,607	Surrey,	57	Coventry	52,742	Warwick.
23	Norwich	100,964	Norfolk.	58	Hastings	52,720	Sussex.
24	Birkenhead	99,184	Chester.	59	Grimsby	52,340 51,876	Lincoln, Lindsey.
25	Huddersfield	05.122	York, West Riding.	66	Bath	51,843	Somerset.
26	Derby	94,146	Derby.	61	Barrow-in-Furness	51,043	Lancaster.
27	Swansea	90,423 88,350	Ginmorgan.	62	Great Yarmouth	49,334	Norfolk and Suffolk, East.
28	Ystradyfodwg <sup>2</sup>	88,350	**	65	Bootle-cum-Linacre	49,334	Lancaster.
29	Buinley	87,058	Lancaster.	64	Oxford <sup>1</sup>	45,742	Oxford.
30	Gateshead	B5,709	Durham.	ns	Worcester	45,742	Worcester.
31	Plymouth	84,170	Devon.	66	Lincoln	41,491	Lincoln, Lindsey and
32	Halifax	82,854	York, West Riding.	1		4-1491	Kesteven.
33	Wolverhampton South Shields	82,620	Stafford.	67	Gloucester	39,444	Gloucester.
34	Middleshows h	78,43%	Durham.		Exeter	37,494	Devon.
35	Middlesborough Walsall	75.516	York, North Riding.	1 60	Chester	37,105	Chester.

<sup>1</sup> Created County Horoughs since the Act of 1822 was passed.

<sup>1</sup> Qualified by Population, but not yet created County Boroughs.

each County Council consists of a Chairman, Aldermen

The Administrative Counties for the purpose of the Act number sixty-one. They include the fifty-two historic counties, with the exception of Yorkshire, which is replaced by the three Ridings; Suffolk and Sussex, which have each been divided into two administrative counties, East and West Suffolk and Sussex. In addition, Lincolnshire now forms the three administrative counties of Holland, Kesteven, and Lindsey; the Isle of Ely has been separated from Cambridgeshire, the Isle of Wight from Hampshire, and the Soke of Peterborough from Northamptonshire.

The County Councillors are elected for a term of three years; they then retire together, when their places are filled by a new election; the divisions of the county for the purpose of the election of County Councillors are called electoral divisions, and only one County Councillor is elected for each division.

The electors entitled to vote at the election of County Councillors are—in a borough, the burgesses enrolled in pursuance of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1882, and elsewhere, the persons registered as county electors under the County Electors Act of 1888.

The Aldermen are equal in number to one-third of the council; they are elected by the County Councillors themselves for a term of six years; but one half of them, namely, those who have been aldermen for the longest time without re-election, retire at the end of three years.

The powers of these County Councils include the

following:—The making of local rates; borrowing of money for public purposes; granting of music and dancing licenses; dealing with the asylums for pauper lunatics; establishment and maintenance of reformatory and industrial schools; keeping the highways in order; the division of the county into polling districts for Parliamentary elections; appointment of polling places and places for revising lists of voters.

Besides the above, they are empowered to administer the Acts relating to contagious diseases of animals, destructive insects, to preserve the fisheries and wild birds, to ensure the correctness of weights and measures.

Likewise other powers were transferred to the County Councils, such as the appointment of coroners, the licensing of theatres, and, except in London, the control of the police.

They are also empowered to appoint medical officers of health.

In order that they may have funds sufficient to carry out their duties, the department of Inland Revenue is directed to make over to the County Councils the sums collected for the licenses of public houses, beer-shops, and dealers in game. Dog, gun, hawkers, horses, servants, and other licenses were also made over to them.

They are also to receive a portion of the Probate Duty in lieu of the grant formerly made by the Government out of the imperial taxes for the maintenance of the main roads throughout the country.

Every borough which on the 3rd day of June, 1888, either had a population of not less than fifty thousand,

or was a county in itself, was admitted to be an administrative county, under the name County Borough.

All the expenses of local government in boroughs are defrayed either from the income of the property of the borough, or by means of a Borough Rate.

In a few boroughs the corporate property is large enough to cover the whole cost of government; and, where there is a surplus, it is devoted to the improvement of the town.

In most boroughs, however, a rate is levied. The various objects to which it may be applied are stated on the "demand note," issued either once or twice a-year. The borough rate usually includes the School Board rate, the police rate, the goal, lunatic asylum, baths and wash-houses, public libraries, parks and cemeteries, as well as paving, lighting, and sewerage.

8.

#### THE CITY OF LONDON.

" But now behold.

How London doth pour out her citizens! The mayor, and all his brethren, in best sort-Like to the senators of th' antique Rome. With the plebeians swarming at their heels."

SHAKSPERE.

HE position of the City of London is, in many respects, quite unique. Regard being had for its long history, it is exempted from the county of London in many ways.

Thus, a district containing about one square mile

standing in the heart of the Metropolis continues to retain a corporation framed on the pattern of the middle ages. It contained, in 1891, a sleeping population of less than thirty-six thousand, and is divided into twenty-six wards and one hundred and eight parishes, eleven of which lie without the walls, but within the liberties.

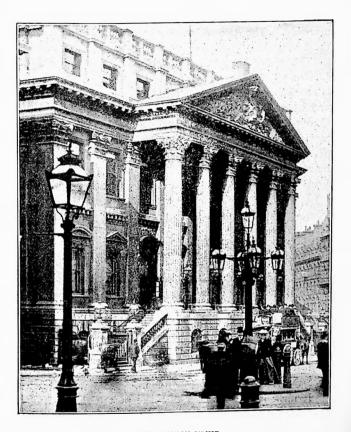
The chief Municipal Officers of the City of London are the Lord Mayor, twenty-six Aldermen, two hundred and six Common Council-men, a Sheriff, a Recorder, a Common Serjeant, a Chamberlain, and a Town Clerk.

The Lord Mayor, who must be an alderman, and must have served as sheriff, is elected for one year on the twenty-ninth of September, by the Livery—that is, by the members of the seventy-six Livery Companies, who present two names to the Court of Aldermen.

Of the persons thus chosen the Court of Aldermen nominates one, and this nomination is confirmed by the Crown, for which purpose the Lord Mayor-elect proceeds to the Law Courts on the ninth of November, and receives the royal approval from the Lord Chancellor.

The Aldermen are elected for life, one in each ward, according to the custom of the City of London, by a body of about twenty thousand freemen. Every alderman is a justice of the peace for the City of London, and presides in the assembly of his own ward, called the wardmote, by which the Common Council-men are elected annually, on St. Thomas's Day.

The Lord Mayor presides over meetings of the Common Conncil, and the aldermen form a part of that



THE MANSION HOUSE.

The Mansion House is the residence of the Lord Mayor of London during his year of office. It stands in the busiest part of the City of London, close to the Bank of England and the Royal Exchange.

assembly. The two *Sheriffs* are chosen annually by the Livery.

The most important civil tribunal in the City of London is the Lord Mayor's Court, of which the judge is the Recorder, who is elected for life by the aldermen, and whose place is usually filled, in his absence, by the Common Serjeant. The Lord Mayor also sits, as chief magistrate, in the Mansion House Police Court; as one of the alderman, he sits in the Guildhall Police Court, and he also sits with the Aldermen and the Recorder at the London Sessions, which are held eight times a-year.

The *Police Force* of the city and liberties is distinct from that for the Metropolis generally; it is commanded by a commissioner, who is appointed by the Common Council, subject to the approval of the Crown.

The City has, moreover, a separate Commission of Sewers the members of which are appointed by the Corporation. This commission regulates local drainage and matters affecting public health, besides keeping the streets in repair.

Nor is the authority of the Corporation confined to the boundaries of the city, for the Lord Mayor is chairman of the Thames Conservators, who exercise authority over the river and port of London.

It must be remembered that the port of London includes the estuary of the Thames; and that, within its limits, are Tilbury and Gravesend. In fact, the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor of London over the river extends nearly to Southend-on-Sea.

Lastly, we may mention that the dagger on the arms

of the City of London, and the cap and sword of the Lord Mayor, were granted to Sir William Walworth by Richard the Second, for killing Wat Tyler.

9.

## GREATER LONDON.

"That monstrous tuberosity of civilized life, the capital of England,"

CARLYLE.

"The immense length of the streets separates the objects you are interested in so widely from each other, that three-fourths of your time are passed in endeavouring to dispose of the fourth to some advantage."

Scott.

HE vast area of the Metropolis outside the city boundaries, but within the limits of the "County of London" contained, in 1891, a population of nearly four-and-a-quarter millions.

It extends into four historic counties—Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, and Essex; and it encloses fifty-nine Parliamentary boroughs.

The local government of this immense "province covered with houses" is mainly divided between the Vestries, the District Boards, and the County Council.

The smaller London parishes without the city are grouped together under *District Boards*, to which the vestry of each parish returns members in proportion to population.

The larger parishes are divided into Wards, after the

manner of the county boroughs, to each of which members are allotted according to their size.

The electors consist of the ratepayers; and the members of vestries or district boards are elected for three years, one third of their number retiring each year.

The Vestries and district boards have the general charge of branch drainage, as distinct from main drainage; of buildings, streets, lighting, water-supply, and sanitary arrangements. They have power to levy rates for these purposes.

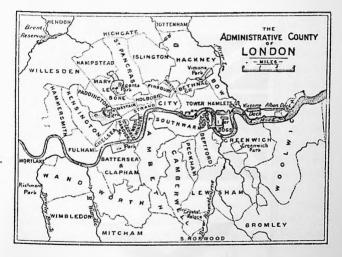
The Main Drainage of the whole Metropolis, including the City, is entrusted to the London County Council; and this body executes all improvements for the common benefit of London, and has power to levy a "Metropolitan Consolidated Rate."

The Metropolis was by the Local Government Act of 1888 given the title of the "Administrative County of London." The portions of the Administrative County of London which formed parts of the counties of Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent, were severed from those counties.

The Administrative County of London extends from Hammersmith, Putney, and Wandsworth, on the west, to Beckton and Woolwich, on the east; and these places are included within its limits. It is bounded, on the north, by Hendon, Highgate, Hornsey, Tottenham, and Walthamstow; and, on the south, by Wimbledon, Mitcham, South Norwood, and Bromley.

It is fourteen miles long, from east to west, thirteen miles wide, from north to south, and includes an area of one hundred and twenty square miles. Within its boundaries dwell more Jews than there are in Jerusalem, more Scotchmen than in Edinburgh, and more Irishmen than in Dublin.

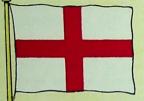
The London County Council was made to consist of double the number of members of Parliament for that area; and the number of aldermen was not to exceed one-sixth of the number of County Councillors.



To this Council the powers, duties, and liabilities of the Metropolitan Board of Works were transferred; and that body ceased to exist.

The London County Council assumed the power of regulating slaughter-houses and cow-houses.

Much of the business of the County Council is



ST GEORGE'S CROSS



ST. ANDREW'S CROSS



UNION JACK



transacted through *Committees*. Thus, besides the Works and General Purposes Committee and the Appeal Committee, which are committees of the whole Council, there are Finance and Parliamentary Committees.

The *Fire Brigade Committee* carries on the duty of protecting the whole Metropolis against fire; the Building Acts Committee enforces the Acts of Parliament against overcrowding and dangerous structures.

The Parks, Commons, and Open Spaces Committee preserves and manages the public recreation grounds in and around London.

A Cattle Diseases Act Committee guards against infected animals being imported from abroad. There are other committees, for the duties of the Council are many and great.

The Metropolitan Police District includes the whole County of London, with the exception of the City, and it likewise extends over a radius of fifteen miles from Charing Cross. The police are placed under the command of a Commissioner, nominated by the Home Secretary, and responsible to him alone.

The Home Secretary also nominates the paid magistrates in the thirteen police courts without the City.

In these two respects alone London enjoys less independence than the county boroughs, whose Councils regulate the police, and whose magistrates are appointed by the Lord Chancellor as head of the law.

For purposes of *Poor Law Administration*, London consists of thirty divisions, fourteen of which are old parishes, and sixteen unions of parishes.

# 10. RATES AND TAXES.

"Know you of this taxation?"

SHAKSPERE.



T will be plain to anyone who gives the matter a thought that the duties performed for the citizen by the County Councils and other local bodies must cost a large sum of

money every year. Streets have to be paved; drains and sewers must be put down and kept in order; policemen have to be paid to protect our lives and property; workhouses and gaols have to be built and kept in repair, and the officers in them must be supported as well as the inmates; and many other expenses have to be met by local authorities. If you ask whence comes the money to pay for all these things, the answer most likely will be "out of the *Rates.*"

Again, there are many things that must be done for the good of the country as a whole. Courts of Justice must be built and maintained, and judges receive large salaries to preside in them; soldiers and sailors have to be paid to protect, not only our own shores, but those of the whole empire from a possible foe; warships must be built and maintained fit for sea for fear war should break out in any part of the empire; and even the postman who brings our morning letters must have his wages. The money for these, and all other purposes that are for the good of all, comes out of the *Taxes*, and these sums are voted, not by any local authority, but by the House of Commons

# RATEABLE VALUE, £30.

## CAMBERWELL.

CAMBERWELL (No. 6) WARD (North Rating District).

### DEMAND NOTE.

For Poor and other Rates made the 21st day of OCTOBER, 1893.

( + 5	POOR RATE.	£ s. n.
45,115 6 I	POOR RATE in the £, and other Expenses chargeable thereon	L 5, 11.
	(including £11,573 estimated requirements of the METRO- POLITAN ASYLUMS' BOARD) 0 11	
11,017 8 7	POLICE RATE (Estimated) in the £	
28,187 0 0	COUNTY COUNCIL REQUIREMENTS (Estimated) in the £ 0 7 1 10	2 15 0
1,890 0 0	Public Libraries' Rate in the £ 0 01  Baths and Wash-Houses' Rate in the £ 0 01	
1,090 0 0	DATHS AND WASH-HOUSES KATE III (IIC & 0 0]	
88,099 14 8		
	VESTRY RATES.	
2,337 10 1	SEWERS RATE in the £ (Estimated) 0 0½  LIGHTING RATE in the £ 0 2  GENERAL RATE (Highways) in the £ 9d. 1 2½  Do. School Board in the £ 5åd. 1 2½	
6,770 7 5	LIGHTING RATE in the £ 0 2	2 2 6
35,944 10 10	GENERAL RATE (Highways) in the 9d.	
22,379 8 6	Do. School Board in the £ 53d. )	
67,431 16 10	Making a total in the £ for the half-year of 3 3	
7,43. 10 10	~,	4 17 6
	The Payment whereof is hereby demanded by the Overseers.	

The above Rates are made for SIX MONTHS, from MICHAELMAS, 1893, to LADY DAY, 1894, and may be paid by two equal Instalments on the 23rd DAY OF OCTOBER, 1893, and the 1st DAY OF JANUARY, 1894.

Rates, then, are sums of money demanded by local authorities, such as County Councils and School Boards, for the needs of a district; and they are so called because they are generally assessed pro rata on the amount of rent paid by householders. The overseers of the parish make out a valuation list, assessing the value of each house or piece of land in the parish, and this is called the "rateable value" of that house or piece of land. The amount of money needed to carry on the various public works in the district is estimated and divided by the rateable value, and the quotient gives the amount payable in the pound. On the opposite page we give a fac-simile of a demand note for local rates.

Taxes, on the other hand, are sums of money imposed on property, persons, or goods for the use of the State; and these are either direct or indirect.

Direct Taxes are sums of money paid directly to Government officials by persons enjoying an income of over one hundred and fifty pounds a-year; by the heads of families living in houses worth more than twenty pounds a-year; and by those who make use of certain articles of luxury, such as carriages, armorial bearings, men-servants, and dogs. The first-named of these is known as Income Tax, the second as Inhabited House Duty, and the third as "assessed" taxes.

With regard to the Income Tax, we may mention here that if a person's income is less than four hundred pounds a-year, he need only pay this tax on that part of his income above one hundred and twenty pounds;

<sup>1</sup> No dog tax is paid by shepherds or blind men.



THE CUSTOM HOUSE.

but a person whose income exceeds four hundred pounds must pay on every pound of it.

Indirect Taxes, called "Customs and Excise Duties," are paid on certain manufactured and imported goods, such as ale and beer, cocoa, coffee, chicory, dried fruits, spirits of all kinds, tea, tobacco, and wine.

The Customs Duties, or taxes, on such of these articles as are imported from foreign countries must either be paid directly they arrive at a port, or else the goods must be stored in buildings provided for that purpose, and known as "bonded warehouses."

Of the above, the necessaries of life are lightly taxed; but the "customs duties" on tobacco, wines, and spirits, which are merely luxuries, are very high.

Excise Duties are taxes levied on beer and spirits, and on licences to sell these articles.

In addition to the customs and excise duties, indirect taxes are raised on bills of exchange, bankers' notes, deeds, receipts, and drafts, all of which have to bear a Government stamp; and taxes, called probate and succession duties, have to be paid when rich men die and leave their property by will to their heirs.

# 11. SANITATION.

"Let thy mind's sweetness have its operation upon thy body, clothes, and habitation."

HERBERT.

N addition to the several local authorities spoken of in the preceding lessons, there are, in certain districts, elected bodies whose duty it is to carry into effect the Public Health Acts. These bodies are called Local Boards,

Health Acts. These bodies are called Local Boards, and the areas over which they hold sway are known as "Sanitary Districts."

A Sanitary District may be a municipal borough, an area under town commissioners, or a local board district; and the local board is elected by the owners and ratepayers of the district to promote public cleanliness and health, to clear out slums, to improve and beautify the district.

One important duty of a local board is the *removal* of house refuse; and this they are bound to do at all times, as will be seen by the following extract from the Public Health Act of 1875:—

"If a local authority, who have themselves taken or contracted for the removal of house refuse from premises, fail, without reasonable excuse after notice in writing from the occupier of any house within their district, requiring them to remove any house refuse belonging to such house or used by the occupier thereof, to cause the same to be removed within seven days, the local authority shall be liable to pay to the occupier of such house

a penalty not exceeding five shillings for every day during which such default continues after the expiration of the said period."

It is also the duty of the sanitary authority to put an end to all *misances* within their district. Let us see what a nuisance is, for the word has a very wide meaning. Lord Mansfield defined it as anything that "renders the enjoyment of life or property uncomfortable." A smoky chimney, a foul drain, or a pigsty, may, under certain circumstances, amount to a nuisance.

A distinction is drawn between what are called private nuisances and public nuisances. A *Private Nuisance* is something injurious to some definite persons or number of persons. A *Public Nuisance* is something injurious to the public generally, and special remedies are provided by the law when the nuisance affects the public generally.

The Public Health Act of 1875 mentions, as amounting to a public nuisance, premises, or animals, so kept as to be injurious to health; accumulations or deposits injurious to health; overcrowded houses and smoky chimneys.

In connection with the last point, it should be noticed that if a tenant permits any chimney in his house to catch fire owing to the omission, neglect, or carelessness of himself or his servant, he is liable to a penalty of ten shillings.

The first step to take towards putting an end to a nuisance is to give notice in writing to the owner or tenant of the premises on which the nuisance exists, requiring him to abate it within a certain time. Should

this notice be not complied with, either the owner or the occupier is then to be summoned before a justice of the peace; if he is satisfied that the nuisance exists, he will make an order requiring the notice to be complied with, and he may impose a penalty not exceeding five pounds. If this order of the court is not obeyed, a penalty not exceeding twenty shillings a-day will be incurred, and, what is more important, the local authority may execute the work necessary to abate the nuisance.

Who is to bear the cost of abating the nuisance? The answer is, the person who caused it. If the land-lord caused it, he must pay; if the tenant, he must pay; if the nuisance is due to both, then both must bear the expense of abatement. The occupier, however, may be called upon to bear the expense in the first instance, but then, he is allowed to deduct from his rent all that he pays on behalf of the landlord. The tenant cannot be called upon to pay the local authority more than the rent then due.

#### 12.

# HEALTHY HOUSES.

"Houses are built to live in more than to look on; therefore, let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had."

BACON.

OCAL Boards have ample powers to remedy the evils that arise from houses being unfit for human habitation. The Board may serve a notice on the owner to compel him to put

the house in a habitable state within a certain time. If

he neglects to do so, it may summon him before a justice, and the justice may prohibit the using of the house until it is rendered habitable.

They can also prevent overcrowding of houses; and if there be houses in any district unfit for human dwelling, it is due to the sanitary authority of the district failing to enforce the powers given to them by various Acts of Parliament.

To quote the Public Health Act, every urban authority has power to make bye-laws "with respect to the structure of walls, foundations, roofs, and chimneys of new buildings, for securing stability and the prevention of fires, and for purposes of health." It is true that these bye-laws need to be confirmed by the Local Government Board; but it is much to be regretted that advantage has not more frequently been taken of this section to put an end to the jerry-building that is fast destroying the reputation of some pleasant suburbs of large towns.

Houses have been built in recent years utterly unfit for habitation. Yet the houses are called "villas," and present an attractive appearance to anyone looking at them from outside. The unfortunate tenant who, in summer time, is led to take one of these "villas," will, before the following winter is over, find to his cost that the "villa" will keep out neither wind nor rain; that the cistern and pipes are so arranged that the first frost will see his house flooded with water; and that the woodwork has shrunk so much as to render warmth and comfort impossible. Such houses are dangerous to health

in every sense of the phrase. The fact is, many houses are no longer built to live in; they are built to create a rent, to be mortgaged, to be sold.

Medical Officers of Health, Inspectors of Nuisances, Surveyors, and others, are appointed in every district to see that the Public Health Acts are duly observed.

Drainage and Sewerage is one of the duties which the Sanitary Boards are empowered to deal with. Drains are the pipes by which a building is relieved of its waste matters, whilst sewers are the main pipes into which these waste matters run. Drains are the property of the house-owner; sewers, of the municipalty. As even the best and most rapidly-flowing sewers become slightly coated with putrid matter, and as their contents are dangerous to health, all sewers should be ventilated. Grids in the roadway are often the means used, but ventilating shafts are much to be preferred. The public should take every opportunity of backing-up their officials when they propose improvements in sewerage, instead of preferring high death-rates to increased sewer-rates.

Water-tight sewers should be constructed to collect all liquid refuse and convey it rapidly and cheaply to farm-lands, where it can be usefully disposed of. This is done in many towns, but much sewage is still allowed to be poured into our rivers, polluting their waters, and killing the fish, besides spreading the germs of disease.

The sewage of London, after being partially treated, is carried in specially constructed steamers and shot into the sea, off the Maplin Sands.

Scores of towns in England have now carried out one or other of the systems mentioned above, and many Royal Commissions, after examining the various chemical and other processes proposed, have declared the water-carriage system and the land irrigation system to be the only thoroughly efficient and reasonably economical plans for disposing of town sewage.

#### 13.

## CLEANLINESS

"I could wish
You were conducted to a gentle bath."

SHAKSPERE.

OCAL Authorities may levy a rate to be spent in building *public baths and wash-houses*, which are usually open to the inhabitants of the district on payment of a small sum, or

they may be made free to all comers. They provide means of bodily cleanliness; sheets of water in which people may learn to swim, and practice that useful art; they also afford a place where the poor can wash their clothes in a suitable building, properly furnished for the purpose.

When there is no gas company in a place the Local Authority may contract for, or itself undertake, the supply, both for streets and private houses; and it may buy out existing gas companies. This latter plan has been adopted by some of our large towns, notably Birmingham.

Where a district is not already supplied with water by some water company with statutory powers, the Local Board may undertake the water supply. In such case, the Board may either supply water by measure, charging according to quantity, or may recoup itself by a waterrate.

If the surveyor reports that a certain house has not a proper water supply, the Board may compel the householder to take a supply from them. The Board may, if it chooses, purchase or lease the works of existing water companies.

The water supplied must be pure and wholesome, and must be laid on at such a pressure as will carry it to the top storey of the highest building in the district. The Local Authority must also provide a supply in case of fire, and must mark on buildings, lamps, or walls in the streets the position of the fire-plugs.

To the ordinary householder gas is generally supplied by measure and water by a rate. London is supplied by four gas companies, and no less than nine water companies.

Attention has lately been directed to the purification of our rivers, which had been allowed to get into a sad state owing to sewage and the refuse of manufactories being poured into them. In London, the condition of the Thames became a bye-word; but, lately, things have been much improved; so much so, that fish may again be found in its waters, and a daring porpoise has, on more than one occasion, been seen above London Bridge.

The Rivers Pollution Act forbids refuse of manufac-

tories, débris from quarries, cinders from gas-works, solid or liquid sewage, to be placed in any stream; nor is the drainage from mines permitted to fall into them. Let but the provisions of this Act be strictly enforced, and we shall see England once more a land of limpid streams swarming with fish.

The Hospitals of England have been built, as a rule, by private charity; and they are supported by public subscriptions to which all should contribute. But, at the same time, we must bear in mind that Local Authorities have been empowered to provide hospitals for the reception of persons stricken down by infectious diseases. They also provide carriages for the transport of sick persons from their homes to the hospital.

Every workhouse, too, has a sick ward, controlled by a duly qualified medical man, assisted by a staff of nurses. It is likewise the duty of the Local Authority to provide for the support of pauper lunatics.

The Board of Guardians pay over certain sums to the County Councils for the maintenance of their pauper lunatics in the county and borough asylums.

## 14.

## EDUCATION.

"O, for the coming of that glorious time,
When, prizing knowledge as her noblest wealth
And best protection, this imperial realm,
While she exacts allegiance, shall admit
An obligation on her part to teach
Them who are born to serve her and obey;

Binding herself by statute to secure

For all the children whom her soil maintains,

The rudiments of letters, so that none,

However destitute, be left to droop,

By timely culture unsustain'd; or run

Into a wild disorder; or be forced

To drudge through a weary life without the help

Of intellectual implements and tools;

A savage horde among the civilised,

A service band among the lordly free."

WORDSWORTH.

HE poet's prayer has become a realised fact; "this imperial realm" has admitted the "obligation on her part to secure for all the children whom her soil maintains the rudi-

ments of letters," and free education has placed that "timely culture" within the reach of all.

"What is education? The word tells its own story; it is to draw out, not to cram in; to unfold the capacities of the growing mind, strengthen the reasoning faculty, create an interest in the surrounding universe; in a word, to excite a love of knowledge and impart the means of acquiring it.

"For the mass of the population, education is necessarily confined in a great measure to the latter object. The three R's—reading, writing, and arithmetic—are indispensable requisites, and the acquirement of these, with perhaps a few elements of history and geography, absorbs nearly all the time and opportunity that can be

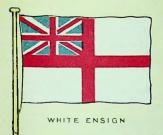
<sup>&</sup>quot;Education, from Latin "c," out, and "duco," I lead.

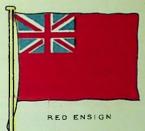
afforded for attendance at school. For any culture beyond this the great majority must depend on themselves in after life.

"Almost everything we know that is worth knowing we teach ourselves in after-life. But the discipline of school is invaluable in teaching the lesson of self-control. Almost every hour of the day a boy at school has to do things that are disagreeable and abstain from doing things that Nature prompts, under pain of getting a caning from the master or a thrashing from other boys. The memory also is exercised, and the faculty of fixing the mind on work is developed by useless almost as well as by useful studies. From this point of view any task, however trivial, may have its use in teaching a boy that, no matter how absurd or repulsive a task may be, he has to tackle it or worse will befall him.

"But it is in a moral sense that the influence of a good school is invaluable. The average boy learns that he must not tell lies, he must not be a sneak or a coward, he must take punishment bravely, and conform to the schoolmaster's standard of discipline and the schoolboy's standard of honour. In this way the first lesson of life, stoicism, becomes with most English lads a sort of instinct or second nature.

"It is of the utmost importance for the young to set resolutely about correcting bad habits and forming good ones, while the faculties are fresh and the brain supple; for every year cuts deeper the channels of thought and feeling, whether for good or evil. A brain trained to the calls of duty soon does so with case and

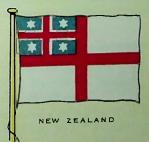












elasticity, just as the muscles of a blacksmith's arm acquire strength and vigour by exercise; while, on the other hand, motion is a pain and self-control an effort to the soft and flabby limb or brain which has been weakened by self-indulgence."

It is because so much of the work of real education has to be done after leaving the day school that the Government has established evening continuation schools, where the youth who has passed through the day school course may bring his mind to bear on some important subjects which had there only been hinted at.

### 15.

# LIBRARIES, MUSEUMS, AND ART GALLERIES.

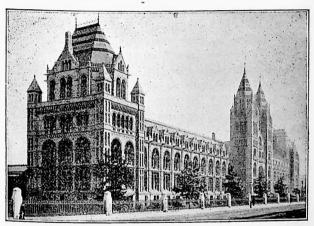
"Education is a companion which no misfortunes can depress, no clime destroy, no enemy alienate, no despotism enslave; at home, a friend; abroad, an introduction; in solitude, a solace; in society, an ornament; it chastens vice; it guides virtue; it gives, at once, a grace and government to genius. Without it, what is man? A splendid slave! A reasoning savage!"

PHILLIPS.

"VERY man has two educations—that which is given to him, and that which he gives to himself. Of the two kinds, the latter is by far the most valuable. Indeed, all that is most worthy in a man, he must work out and conquer for himself. It is this that constitutes our real and best Samuel Laing.

nourishment. What we are merely taught seldom nourishes the mind like that which we teach ourselves." 1

Realising this fact, the Government passed an Act of Parliament giving the County Councils power to levy a rate not exceeding one penny in the pound for the building and support of *free libraries*; and now they are being established all over the country. Here the earnest



NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM, SOUTH KENSINGTON.

student may pore over the works of the great thinkers of the past, or peruse the lighter productions of novelists and poets.

We must remember, too, that education in art and in science cannot all be gathered from books, but must be imbibed through the eye. Professor Ruskin well says—

"I remember well that for many years of my life the only notion I had of the look of a Greek knight was complicated between recollection of a small engraving in my pocket Homer, and reverent study of the Horse Guards. And though I believe that most boys collect their ideas from more varied sources, and arrange them more carefully than I did; still, whatever sources they seek must always be ocular; if they are elever boys, they will go and look at the Greek vases and sculptures in the British Museum, and at the weapons in our armouries—they will see what real armour is like in lustre, and what Greek armour was like in form, and so put a fairly true image together, but still, in ordinary cases, a very living and interesting one."

This kind of education through the eyes can now be shared by the public, for we have free Museums and free Fine Art Galleries in all the great centres of population.

"The study of art possesses this great and peculiar charm that it is absolutely unconnected with the struggles and contests of ordinary life. By private interests, by political questions, men are deeply divided and set at variance; but, beyond and above all such party strifes, they are attracted and united by a taste for the beautiful in art. It is a taste at once engrossing and unselfish, which may be indulged without effort, and yet has the power of exciting the deepest emotions—a taste able to gratify both the nobler and softer parts of our nature—the imagination and the judgment, love of emotion and

power of reflection, the enthusiasm and the critical faculty, the senses and the reason."1



BRITISH MUSEUM,

" The whole world without art and dress Would be but one great wilderness."

BUTLER.

1 GUIZOT.

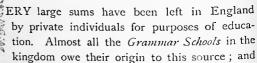
#### 16.

## HIGHER EDUCATION.

"The old school-house is altered some, the benches are replaced By new ones, very like the same our penknives had defaced; But the same old bricks are in the wall, the bell swings to and fro,

It's music just the same, dear Tom, 'twas twenty years ago"

ANON.



there is, perhaps, no country in which so great an amount of property has been appropriated for the education of youth.

The grammar and endowed schools appear to have been principally intended for the use of the upper and middle classes, especially the latter. Of course, the great historic grammar schools, such as those of Eton, Harrow, and Rugby, and the two great *Universities* of Oxford and Cambridge, are appropriated to the education of the upper classes.

It is scarcely too much to say that in matters educational this country is now literally "rolling in the lap of luxury." Inducements to and opportunities of self-improvement are so numerous and widely spread, that not to know them argues wilful ignorance. Classes, prizes, scholarships, exhibitions are open on all sides to public competition; and if the clever boys from our elementary schools do not partake of the advantages of a university

education, it is not for the want of a road thither, for a dozen such are now open to them.

In the year 1888, a Royal Commission sat to see if some means could not be devised to push forward the technical education of the young "in the principles and practice of domestic, commercial, agricultural, and industrial work." It was felt that such instruction would be of vital importance in an industrial community like our own; and, it was admitted, that, unless our workers are better trained, we shall be outstripped by those of Germany and Holland, where technical education has been cultivated for many years.

In 1890, Mr. Goschen, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, set apart a sum of over seven hundred thousand pounds in England and Wales, and fifty thousand pounds in Scotland, for the purposes of technical education. The former sum was placed under the power of the County Councils, many of which have laid out their share of this grant in fostering technical education within their respective boundaries.

The aim of much of this technical teaching is to lead up to the examinations held by the Department of Science and Art, which has been in existence nearly sixty years. In 1835, Mr. William Ewart moved in the House of Commons for a Select Committee "to inquire into the best means of extending a knowledge of the arts and of the principles of design amongst the people—especially the manufacturing population—of this country." The report made by this Committee led to the establishment of a Normal School of Design at Somerset House.

Six years later, Government aid was extended to provincial schools of design; and, in the year 1853, the Normal School of Design had grown into the Department of Science and Art, which was placed under the control of the Committee of Council on Education.

The Department, after being removed from Somerset House to Marlborough House, finally found a permanent home at South Kensington, in 1867. Its work is now enormous, as it has under its control a great number of public institutions, such as the Royal College of Science, the National Art Training School, and many others.

The Department not only makes payments to teachers on the results of its competitions and examinations, but has the management and control of a very large number of prizes, scholarships, and exhibitions, such as the Whitworth Scholarships. It has done much excellent work in the past, and promises to be still more useful in the future

"Who loves not knowledge? Who shall rail
Against her beauty? May she mix
With men and prosper! Who shall fix
Her pillars? Let her work prevail.

Let knowledge grow from more to more, But more of reverence in us dwell; That mind and soul, according well, May make one music as before,

<sup>&</sup>quot; But vaster."

## 17.

## RECREATION.

"He hath left you all his walks, His private arbours, and new planted orchards, On this side Tiher; he hath left them you. And to your heirs for ever. common pleasures, To walk abroad, and recreate yourselves."

SHAKSPERE.

T being impossible for the mind of man to be always intent upon business, and for the body to be exercised in continual labours, some recreation is both needful and expedient; such

is the constitution of our bodies and the complexion of our minds that neither of them can endure constant toil without some relaxation and delighting diversion. A wise man will choose such recreations as are healthful, short, and proper to refresh both mind and body." 1

County Councils are empowered to secure sites and lay out parks for the recreation of the people. Much of this work was done before they were formed, and more has been carried on since.

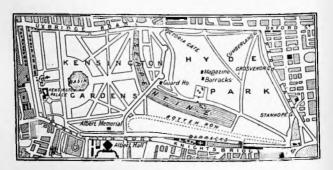
London is very well off in this respect, scarcely any district being without its recreation ground; in fact, no other city in the world can approach our Metropolis in the number and beauty of its public parks and gardens.

Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens cover six hundred acres. The former contains the Serpentine, an ornamental sheet of water, and Rotten Row,<sup>2</sup> an excellent drive from <sup>1</sup> Burkett.

<sup>2</sup>A corruption of the French route du roi, the King's Road.

Apsley House to Kensington Gardens, where, during the season, the largest and most brilliant display of carriages is to be seen.

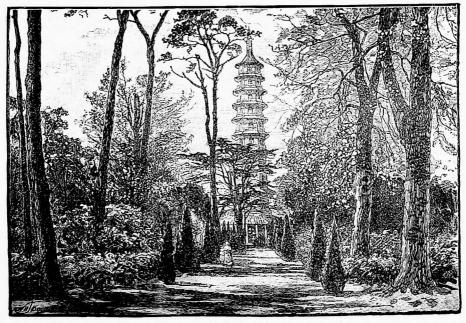
Regent's Park covers an area of nearly five hundred acres, and contains the fine gardens of the Royal Botanic Society, as well as that paradise of the young, "the Zoo," more properly termed the Gardens of the Zoological Society.



HYDE PARK AND KENSINGTON GARDENS.

The other parks in the West End are St. James's and the Green Park. In South London lie Battersea Park, Dulwich Park, Brockwell Park, and Southwark Park; in the North, Finsbury Park; and in the East End, Victoria Park.

The outer ring of the County of London can boast of many delightful parks and recreation grounds, such as Greenwich Park, Hampstead and Putney Heaths, Clapham and Tooting Commons. Just outside the



SCENE IN KEW GARDENS.

boundary of the County of London He Richmond and Bushey Parks, and the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew.

In Liverpool, the second city of the Kingdom, the houses are much more crowded, so that the fine Stanley Park lies without the city, whilst Wavertree Park and the Botanic Garden are situated just within the boundary.

Manchester is well endowed with recreation grounds. Besides Peel Park, containing the Royal Museum, Queen's Park, also enclosing a museum, and Philips Park, all acquired by public subscription, it has the beautiful Alexandra Park.

We must not close this chapter without paying a highly-deserved tribute to the Corporation of the City of London. This body, at great trouble and expense, opened for ever the tract known as *Epping Forest*, as a gigantic recreation ground for the teeming millions of London. This famous forest lies in the County of Essex, between the rivers Lea and Roding.

Here can the Londoner repair for change of scene,

"Sometimes outstretched in very idleness,
Nought doing, saying little thinking less,
To view the leaves, their dances upon air,
Go eddying round; and small birds how they fare
When Mother Autumn fills their beaks with corn.
To view the graceful deer come tripping by,
Then stop and gaze, then turn, they know not why,
Like bashful younkers in society.
To mark the structure of a plant or tree,
And all fair things of earth, how fair they be!"

LAMB.

18.

## MAGISTRATES.

"I am Robert Shallow, sir; a poor esquire of this county, and one of the king's justices of the peace." SHAKSPERE.

HE office of Magistrate or Justice of the Peace is extremely ancient. It dates from the reign of Edward III., when "Justices, or Commissioners of the Peace," were established by

statute. The title "Justice of the Peace," was given to the holders of this office because their duties were directed to preserving social good order. As the Sovereign is the great conservator of peace within the land, so many of the great officers of state and the higher judges are Justices by virtue of their offices. The ordinary Justices of the Peace, however, of whom we shall speak in this chapter, are those persons who are appointed to their office under a Commission of the Peace, issuing from the Crown.

These Justices, who must possess property of a certain value before they are eligible for appointment, are nominated upon recommendation by a Lord Lieutenant to the Lord Chancellor. They take an oath of allegiance and certain other oaths before they enter upon their duties, and their services are gratuitous, except in the case of Metropolitan and Stipendiary Magistrates.

All Justices may be considered as County or Borough Justices. A staff of County Justices is attached to each of the Divisions into which every county is divided. In each Division there is a Petty Sessional Court-house, where the duties of the justices are performed. Borough Justices are those who have been nominated for office within any corporate town or borough having a separate Commission of the Peace exempting it from the jurisdiction of the County Justices. The borough or town is, in this case, the area of the Borough Justices' authority, and there also will be found the Petty Sessional Court-house.

Numerous statutes are now in force by which the duties of justices have been greatly increased. The most important form a particular group of statutes called "The Summary Jurisdiction Acts," and, under all these statutes, the functions of justices may be separated into two great classes—judicial and legislative functions.

By virtue of their *judicial functions* justices issue warrants and summonses to compel the attendance of offenders in court. They hear complaints relating to minor offences, and they have certain limited powers of fining and imprisoning. In more serious offences, they are only permitted to decide whether or no they will commit the offender to take his trial before one of the Superior Criminal Courts.

As administrative functions we may place all those civil duties which are entrusted to the hands of justices for the general good. Thus, a justice exercises these functions when he deals with the regulation of traffic in strong drink, when he superintends matters concerning the poor, highways, lunatics, and prisons.

As all these duties require some knowledge of law, we find a "Clerk to the Justices" attached to each Bench

of Magistrates, who advises them when any legal doubt arises, and who conducts the routine work of the Court.

Four times in each year the Justices of each Division meet in the Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the locality. Sitting thus, they form a Court which is competent to deal with more important administrative work and with more serious criminal offences than can be considered in Petty Sessional Courts.

## 19.

### THE POLICE.

"You are thought here to be the most sensible and fit man to be constable of the watch; therefore bear you the lantern. This is your charge: —You shall apprehend all vagrant men; you are to bid any man stand in the prince's name. You shall also make no noise in the streets, for, for the watch to babble and talk, is most intolerable and not to be endured."

SHAKSPERE.



ONNECTED with the subject of Justices, we may consider those lesser officials of the law called constables, or *policemen*, who are also entrusted with the duty of preserving the peace.

These arrest offenders, and carry out the orders of justices by executing warrants and summonses. Like that of justices, also, the office of constable is an ancient one, but the method of appointment and all matters relating to it are now regulated by modern statutes. Although their duties are identical, the police are divided into Borough and County Constabulary; and, so far asconcerns London, into City and Metropolitan Police.

The Borough Police perform their duties in boroughs and corporate towns, just as the City police have charge of the City of London, and they act under the supervision of the Mayor and Watch Committee. The County Police have charge of the county Divisions; they are controlled by a Chief Constable appointed by the justices, and, in matters relating to general administration, they are under a joint committee of the local Quarter Sessions and County Council.

The Metropolitan Police were established in 1829. They have charge of London, except the City, of Middlesex, and of certain portions of the adjoining counties. They are under the orders of a Commissioner of Police, and exceed in number fifteen thousand men.

Policemen are given a portion of ground to protect called a "beat." They have about eight hours' work daily, and then they wear an armlet to show that they are on duty. They are really always on duty, for their whole time belongs to the public.

All citizens, as well as constables, are regarded as conservators of the Queen's peace, and they may, therefore, arrest and carry before a justice anyone whom they see committing a breach of it. They may also arrest anyone they suspect of having committed a breach. In case of mere suspicion, however, if it should turn out to be ill-founded, a private citizen may have to pay compensation, while a constable is protected by his office.

Constables may arrest anywhere and at any time. They may break open doors in pursuit of offenders; and, while they may not use unnecessary violence. in

cases where the pursued resists capture, or threatens life, they are justified even in killing him. All persons must aid a constable in execution of the law when he calls upon them for assistance.

Sometimes, when a tumult is apprehended, or has taken place, justices appoint persons to act as *Special Constables* for a definite period. These have all the powers of ordinary constables.

# PART II.—CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

20.

### THE CROWN.

"King-becoming graces
Are Justice, Verity, Temperance, Stableness,
Bounty, Perseverance, Mercy, Lowliness,
Devotion, Patience, Courage, Fortitude."

SHAKSPERE.



OVERNMENT may be divided into three heads—the *Legislative* power, which enacts and repeals laws; the *Executive* power, which executes all that is required, from day to day,

for the public service; and the *Judicial* power, which decides causes between man and man, and tries persons accused of crime.

In an absolute monarchy all these powers are vested in the Sovereign, who carries on the government with the aid of such persons as he may see fit to appoint: but, in a limited monarchy, such as ours the three powers are kept distinct. The legislative power, which is the basis of the other two, is confided to Parliament—that is, to the Sovereign, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, acting together.

The Sovereign, who holds the highest office in the State, is not now elected, but inherits the dignity. As we all know, a woman may be Queen of England, but this is not so in all countries.

The descent of the Crown of England is limited partly by customary law, partly by statute. By the Act of Settlement, passed in the reign of William the Third, it is vested in the descendants of the Princess Sophia, youngest daughter of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, being Protestants; and every person marrying a Catholic is rendered ineligible. Subject to these limitations, the Crown descends first to the male, then to the female issue in succession.

The Sovereign, as one of the constituents of Parliament, has a share in making and repealing the laws, for no measure can become the law of the realm until it receives the sanction of the Crown; but in addition to this, the Sovereign wields a peculiar power called the "Royal Prerogative."

Thus, the Sovereign is the distributor of citles and dignities, and the creator of peers of the realm. The poet refers to this prerogative when he says—

"Frinces and tords may flourish or may fade,
A breath can make them, as a breath has made."

To the Sovereign belongs the appointment of officers in the army and navy, governors of colonies, lords-

licutenant, judges, ministers of state, and others connected with the executive.

The Sovereign has also the sole power of declaring war or proclaiming peace, or of entering into treaties with foreign countries. It is, moreover, part of the prerogative of the Crown to summon Parliament, to prorogue it, or dissolve it.

As for the judicial power, the Sovereign prerogative pardons criminals and appoints judges.

It is difficult to reconcile so much power with the idea of a limited monarchy; for, at first sight, the Sovereign appears to be invested with all the prerogatives that ever were claimed by the most absolute of monarchs; but the great check to this power is the fact that the House of Commons alone can grant supplies.

The Sovereign may command armies and order out fleets, but without the money voted by the Commons they cannot be maintained; the Monarch may appoint officers, but without the consent of the Commons their salaries cannot be paid; by virtue of the prerogative, the Crown can declare war; but, unless the Commons vote the necessary supplies, war cannot be carried on.

Again, it is understood that the Sovereign does not interfere personally in the business of government, but acts through ministers. As, however, ministers cannot carry on the government unless they enjoy the confidence of the House of Commons, because the laws and taxes which such ministers proposed would be rejected by the votes of the Commons, there is a complete protection against the appointment of improper men.



THE CROWN



DUKES





MARQUIS'S CORONET



EARL'S CORONET



THE GREAT SEAL



BARON'S CORONET



THE SPEAKER'S MACE

Besides, a minister is responsible to the House of Commons for his every act. He may be impeached before the House of Lords; and, if found guilty, punished, notwithstanding that he may have been carrying out the express wishes of his Sovereign.

## 21.

## PARLIAMENT.

"Now call we our high court of Parliament,
And let us choose such limbs of noble counsel,
That the great body of our state may go
In equal rank with the best governed nation."

SHAKSPERE.

HE legislative power, by the constitution of Great Britain, is vested in the great Council of Parliament, consisting of the Sovereign and the three estates: that is, the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and the Commons.

The early history of the Parliament of England is lost in the mist of ages. This much, however, is certain, that long before the Norman invasion it was usual to consider and debate matters of public weal in the *Witenagemote*, or great council of the nation.

After the Norman invasion, and the establishment of the feudal system, the king was assisted by a great council composed of the principal barons, whose agreement was necessary in all matters of national importance.

In Magna Charta,2 signed by King John, on June

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Anglo-Saxon, "wita," a wise man, "gemot," a meeting.

<sup>2</sup> Latin, the Great Charter.

the fifteenth, 1215, these words occur—" No scutage or aid shall be imposed, beyond the ordinary liabilities of the feudal tenure, unless by the common council of the kingdom." This shows that, even at this early period, the principle was recognised that the nation should not be taxed except by its own consent.

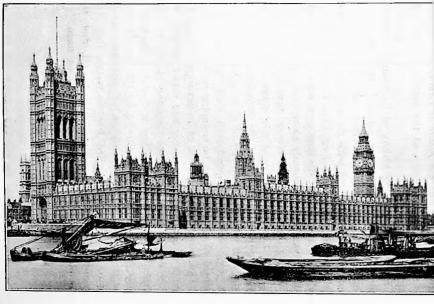
All the tenants-in-chief—that is, those who held their estates directly from the Crown, were entitled to a seat in the great council of the nation; but, as many of them were unable or unwilling to attend, the practice arose of summoning only the greater barons; whilst the inferior tenants, who were not summoned sent representatives, consisting of two *knights* for each shire, and of one or more *burgesses* for the free boroughs.

It is not certain when these changes first took place; but, at all events, burgesses attended the Parliament summoned by Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, in 1265.

At this time, also, the clergy were summoned to attend; but they obtained the privilege of meeting in Convocation instead, leaving the *Bishops* and mitred abbots to attend Parliament.

During the reign of Edward the First, knights and burgesses were regularly summoned to attend Parliament; and in that of his successor, Edward the Second, the national assembly seems to have been divided into two parts: the *House of Lords*, consisting of the great barons, who

<sup>1</sup>A fine or tax sometimes levied by the Crown in ancient times, instead of the personal service which a tenant owed his feudal lord. Latin "scutum," a shield.



THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT FROM THE RIVER.

attended directly; and the *House of Commons*, consisting of the chosen representatives of the smaller tenants and burgesses.

From this period the history of Parliament is closely interwoven with that of the nation. The number of burgesses was gradually increased, and the House of Commons gained strength with the ever-increasing wealth of the nation. But, for a long time, the powers of the Parliament and those of the king were not clearly defined; and, as rivals, they frequently came into collision.

During the reigns of Henry the Eighth and his daughter Elizabeth, the regal power reached its zenith; but the growth of trade and the increase of knowledge during the glorious fifty years of Elizabeth's reign made the people better acquainted with their rights, and less disposed to allow them to be trampled on.

The princes of the House of Stuart were neither wise enough to note the changes that had taken place in the views of the people, nor had they the ability to fight successfully for the rights they assumed to be theirs; consequently, they were overthrown by the popular will. But it was not till the *Revolution* of 1688, when the Stuarts were finally expelled from a throne they had shown themselves unfit and unworthy to fill, that the principles of the Constitution were clearly set forth.

#### 22

# CHANGES IN PARLIAMENT.

"Power! 'tis the favourite attribute of gods,
Who look with smiles on men, who can aspire
To copy them."

MARTYN.



HE Convention of 1689 declared William and Mary joint Sovereigns of England. Having signed a Declaration of Rights, affirming the ancient liberties of the English people, William

and Mary received their crowns, and the "Glorious Revolution" was accomplished.

Well may a Revolution be called glorious, that, without the shedding of a drop of blood, achieved results so grand. From that day to this we hear no more of punishment in England except for crime. Englishmen no longer pine in foul dungeons, or die at the cruel stake for fidelity to their faith. Instruments of torture now exist only in museums as relics of a bygone age, exciting the wonder of the beholder that any age could have been so barbarous.

The celebrated statute, called the *Bill of Rights*, passed in 1689, second in importance only to the Great Charter itself, declared that laws could neither be made nor suspended without the consent of Parliament; that Parliament only had the right to levy money from the subjects; that the debates or proceedings in Parliament were not to be questioned in any court or place outside its doors; that it was the right of subjects to petition the king; and that Parliaments should be held frequently.

The reign of William the Third marks an era in the constitutional government of England, not alone because it gave birth to new laws in the interests of liberty, but because it gave vitality to laws that were old. Before his time there were charters and statutes enough, could they have been executed, to have made the English people free; but neither was public opinion so educated and expressed, nor the royal prerogative so limited and defined, as to make it impossible for a tyrant to rule. During the reign of William the Third the rights of the people and the prerogatives of the Crown were clearly defined. Now, Sovereign and subject alike bow before the majesty of the law.

One principle was established in the reign of William that has made popular government in England secure—the principle that the ministers of the Crown must be in harmony with the House of Commons. If, in any important matter, the House refuses by its vote to sustain the policy of the ministers, they retire, and the electors are given an opportunity to fill their places by men of the opposite party. The House of Commons can, therefore, dictate the policy to be pursued by the Government, and is the chief ruling power in the realm.

The English Constitution is comprised in no single enactment, nor in the enactments of any single reign. It is composed of all the great charters and statutes that have been enacted from time to time, since the reign of John, with such customs as have the sanction of long usage. Thus, as the slow and steady growth of ages, as the product of the wisdom and patriotism of the best

English minds, standing, as it has done, the test of time, it commands our reverence and admiration, and should not be tampered with without high cause. It is a collection of the various charters of freedom that lie scattered along the pathway of English history.

Nearly all those great principles of government which we hold so dear were conceived in English hearts and wrought out by English hands. The rights of man, life, liberty, and happiness, dawned in Magna Charta long before they shone full-orbed in the Bill of Rights.

In the year 1707, England and Scotland were made, in all respects, one kingdom, their Parliaments being united, as their Crowns had been a little more than a century before. By the Act of Union, Scotland was to be placed on a perfect equality with England in matters of trade, and the courts of justice were to remain unchanged. Sixteen Scottish peers were admitted to the House of Lords, and forty-five members to the House of Commons.

Although this Union was bitterly opposed by the Scottish people, it has contributed immensely to their prosperity. Little fishing hamlets have grown into great commercial cities; manufactures have sprung up and thrived; and, to-day, in some departments of industry, Scotland stands among the foremost nations.

### 23.

# CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

"A land of settled government,

A land of just and old renown;

Where freedom slowly broadens down

From precedent to precedent."

TENNYSON.



SINGLE constitutional change marks the reign of George the First. The *Triennial Act*, which was passed in 1704, had limited the duration of Parliament to three years;

but the frequent occurrence of elections kept the country in a state of constant turmoil, and the Septennial Act was passed, lengthening the life of a Parliament to seven years.

At the time of the "Popish Plot" excitement, in the reign of Charles the Second, Catholics were declared ineligible to sit in Parliament; and, although this plot was proved at the time to be a pure fabrication, they were not restored to their former rights of membership. For a century and a-half they continued to have no voice in the councils of the nation. The Irish people laboured under peculiar hardships; and to conciliate them at the time of the great wars with Napoleon, the Constitutional Union of Great Britain and Ireland was effected.

In 1801, thirty Irish lords and one hundred commoners were admitted to the English Parliament; but this very Union drew in its train a grievance, for only Protestants could sit as members of Parliament; and it is difficult to say which was felt to be the greater grievance to Catholic Ireland—no representation, or a *Protestant* representation.

Discontent rose to fever heat, and produced repeated outbreaks, which were trodden out in blood; and Bill after Bill for the relief of the Irish was brought up in Parliament only to be voted down. Associations, in which almost every Catholic and many Protestants became enrolled, were formed throughout Ireland to secure the repeal of laws excluding Catholics from Parliament.

Daniel O'Connell, an eloquent Irish barrister, was at this time all but supreme in his power over the Irish people. In 1827, he was elected to Parliament by the County of Clare, but was ineligible on account of his religion. The climax to Irish endurance was reached when O'Connell was refused the seat to which he had been elected, and Parliament soon came to see that there was but a choice of alternatives—justice to Ireland, or war with a united and determined people.

A Bill was accordingly introduced to admit Catholics to Parliament. Even the Duke of Wellington, long the opponent of Reform, who had looked calmly on death in many a hard-fought battle-field, shrank from the horrors of a religious war in Ireland. Said the Iron Duke, on moving the second reading of the Bill, "If I could avoid, by any sacrifice whatever, even one month of civil war in the country to which I am attached, I would sacrifice my life to do it."

In a little more than a month, the Bill, having passed both Houses, received the royal assent and became law. Catholics were placed on an equality with Protestants, except that they remained ineligible to the throne and the chancellorship.

We must now briefly consider another of those great statutes that stand like milestones in the pathway of English progress—the Reform Act of 1832.

One of the crying evils of the English people was the inequality of representation in Parliament. In early times, the kings had named the towns that were to be represented in the Lower House; and they had, as a rule selected the most important. Towns were occasionally added to the list, sometimes as a matter of justice, and sometimes as a matter of favouritism; but there was no law or basis of representation.

In the course of time, a great change had come over the face of England, for the growth of manufactures had made new centres of population. Thriving towns, such as Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield, had sprung up in the wilderness. On the other hand, flourishing towns had dwindled into mere hamlets; and, in some cases, disappeared altogether. But, through all this shifting of the population, there had been comparatively few changes in the representation in Parliament.

Old Sarum, for instance, without a house within its limits, continued to send two members to every Parliament, whilst Birmingham, a great hive of industry, remained unrepresented. These "rotten," or "pocket," boroughs, as they were called, that had representatives with few constituents, were, for the most part, under the control of noblemen, who either selected the persons to represent them, or else offered the boroughs for sale to the highest bidder.

### 24.

# PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

"There was a time when it was the fashion for public men to say, 'Show me a proved abuse, and I will do my best to correct it.' Times are changed. Men now say, 'Show me a practical improvement, and that improvement I will do my best to realise.'"

LORD PALMERSTON.



REFORM BILL was introduced into Parliament, early in the year 1831, designed to re-adjust and render the system of representation more equal. It passed the House

of Commons after some stormy debates, but was thrown out by the House of Lords.

On this, the excitement in the country became intense, and riots disturbed the peace of the kingdom. The Lords, becoming alarmed at the temper of the people, which threatened the most serious results, followed the example of the Commons, and passed the Reform Bill in their next session of 1832.

Fifty-six "pocket" boroughs, returning one hundred and twelve members, were disfranchised, whilst thirty more were only allowed a single member each, making a total reduction of one hundred and forty-two members. The vacant seats were distributed among forty-two large and flourishing towns, that had previously no representatives in Parliament. Thus, for the first time, manufacturing and business interests were duly represented in the House of Commons.

Hitherto, the land-holders had moulded legislation to meet their own peculiar wants; now, measures were framed to encourage commerce and manufactures, making them the leading interests of the British nation. As an illustration of the progress made, we may mention that, at the beginning of the reign of William the Fourth, Great Britain had three hundred and fifteen steamships; at its close, she had six hundred. At its beginning, there was only one railway-line of importance on the island; at its close, all the great manufacturing and mining districts were connected by railways with the Metropolis and chief sea-ports.

The reign of Queen Victoria has been marked, more than any previous ones, by the spirit of progress. Under the inspiration and guidance of such men as Cobden and Bright, the reform movement has marched with rapid strides. The English Government, at first following somewhat slowly in the footsteps of an advancing public sentiment, now leads the van in the grand march of improvement.

The Act of 1832 enfranchised the middle classes; but it was reserved for Mr. Disraeli, in 1867, to place political power in the hands of the British workman. By the Act of 1832, the borough franchise was confined to householders, whose dwellings were worth not less than ten pounds a-year; and the county franchise was held by all freeholders and by leaseholders and tenants of property of the clear annual value of fifty pounds.

By the Act of 1867, every householder in a borough, and every lodger who paid ten pounds a-year for his

lodgings, was entitled to vote. Every freeholder whose freehold was of the annual value of forty shillings a-year, every leaseholder of the annual value of five pounds, and every householder whose rent was not less than twelve pounds, was entitled to a vote for the county.



JOHN BRIGHT.
(From a Photograph, by Russell & Sons.)

This measure left the agricultural labourers out in the cold; but, in 1884, Mr. Gladstone's government conferred the franchise on every householder in the counties; so that now "a uniform household franchise and a uniform

lodger franchise" prevail "in all counties and boroughs throughout the United Kingdom."

The Redistribution of Seats Act, which followed in 1885, divided towns and counties into constituencies, each returning, with few exceptions, only one member. For instance, the City of Liverpool, which had previously sent three members to Parliament, was divided into nine distinct constituencies, each returning one member; whilst the great County of Lancashire, which since 1867 had been divided into four divisions, each returning two members, was now split up into twenty-three divisions, with one member each.

This great change constituted the nearest approach which has yet been made in this country to equal electoral districts. The United Kingdom was broken up into numerous constituencies; and one member was, on a rough estimate, given to every fifty thousand persons. But equality has not been obtained yet, for the new borough of Chelsea had nearly ninety thousand inhabitants, whilst the old borough of Windsor had less than twenty thousand.

## 25.

# THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

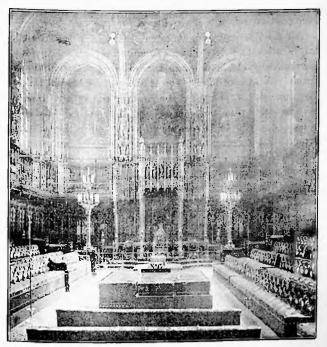
"Brave peers of England, pillars of the State."

SHAKSPERE.

the Sovereign. The established ceremonial gives to this assembly a great pre-eminence over the Commons. The Lords form the

Upper House; the Commons, the Lower.

The House of Lords is, in a more especial manner, looked upon as the Council of the Sovereign; and in it the throne is placed. When the Sovereign comes to



THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

Parliament the Commons are sent for, and make their appearance at the bar of the House of Lords. It is, moreover, before the Lords that the Commons bring their impeachments.

The House of Lords is also called the House of Peers, in order to show that, though there are differences of rank among the members-a duke being the highest and a baron the lowest-yet all are equal with regard to their political rights and privileges.

All English peers are members of the Upper House; but Scottish and Irish peers, except such as are also peers of England, have only the privilege of sending a certain number of their own body to represent them. The number of peers in the house constantly varies, because titles may become extinct, or may be held by minors, who cannot have a seat; or the Sovereign may, at any time, elevate a commoner to the peerage.

The House of Lords is not only a deliberative assembly, but a Court of Justice; it is, in fact, the highest court of justice in the realm, as, in civil matters, appeals can always be made from other courts to it; but, from it, there is no appeal. The decision of legal questions that come before the House is practically left to the "law lords"-that is, those who have been raised to the peerage on account of their legal eminence. The others take no part in the trials that go on, except when some question crops up about matters of fact; and then they act the part of an ordinary jury.

The Lord Chancellor presides in the House of Lords, and puts each question to the vote. He sits on a red cushion, stuffed with wool, called the "Woolsack." In the reign of Queen Elizabeth an Act of Parliament was passed to prevent the export of wool; and that this source of our national wealth might be kept con-







ROYAL STANDARD



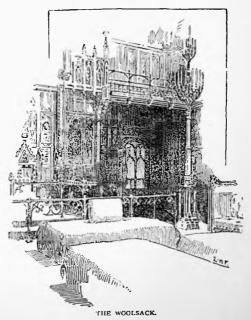
stantly in mind, woolsacks were placed in the House of Peers whereon the judges sat.

We must not forget that the Bishops have seats in the Upper House; and that in Tudor times they formed a majority there. When it grew necessary to provide new bishops for the dioceses of Ripon and Manchester, the two old sees of Gloucester and Bristol were combined, and it was arranged that the junior bishop—provided he did not represent one of the great sees of London, Durham, and Winchester—should have no seat in Parliament; and the same course has since been followed on the formation of the new sees of St. Alban's, Truro, Liverpool, Newcastle, Southwell, and Wakefield.

The House of Lords, then, consists of two classes, the Lords Spiritual and the Lords Temporal. The Lords Spiritual consist of the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York; the three Bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester; and twenty-one other English and Welsh bishops in order of seniority.

The Lords Temporal include the peers of the United Kingdom, who sit by virtue of descent; the representative peers of Scotland and Ireland, who sit by virtue of election; and four Lords of Appeal, who sit for life. The Lords Spiritual sit in virtue of their office; the Lords Temporal sit by descent, by creation, or by election. New peers are created by letters patent conferring the dignity on the person named and his heirs male. When the eldest son of a peer is summoned by one of his father's titles to sit in the House of Lords, his creation is effected by writ.

The sixteen Representative Peers of Scotland are summoned for each Parliament; the twenty-eight representative peers of Ireland are summoned for life; and the four life-peers, members of the High Court of Appeal, also sit for life.



Every great country finds it necessary to retain a second chamber; but no country except England makes birth the only or chief qualification for a seat.

In conclusion, we may mention that, in 1892, the House of Lords consisted of five Princes of the blood—namely, the Prince of Wales, the Dukes of Edinburgh, Connaught, York, and Cambridge; two Archbishops; twenty-one Dukes; twenty Marquises; one hundred and fifteen Earls; twenty-seven Viscounts; twenty-four Bishops; two hundred and eighty-seven Barons; sixteen Scottish and twenty-eight Irish Representative Peers; in all, five hundred and thirty-seven.

### 26.

# THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

"God speed the Partiament! who shall he the Speaker?"

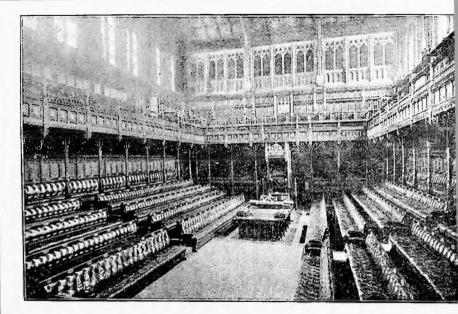
Shakspere.

HE House of Commons, or Lower House, consists of persons elected by the people to safeguard their interests. Members of the House of Commons are often called "Members of Parlia-

ment," although a peer is equally entitled to the name. Some members of the Lower House represent portions of counties; others, boroughs; and a few, universities.

A clergyman cannot become a member of the House of Commons; neither can a peer who is entitled to a seat in the House of Lords; but a peer's son, even if he is heir to a peerage, may. So soon, however, as he succeeds to his title, he must vacate his seat in the House of Commons.

It is also a law of this House that any member who accepts office under Government must vacate his seat; but he is eligible for re-election. No member of Parliament



THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

can voluntarily resign that position; but, to prevent the inconvenience that might arise from this, it is the custom for those who wish to retire to accept a nominal post under Government, without duties and without pay, called "The Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds."

The Steward of the Chiltern Hundreds is an officer of the Crown, appointed to protect the people of Buckinghamshire from the robbers of the Chiltern Hills. This office is now a sinecure; but, as a member of the House of Commons can only resign his seat by accepting office, he accepts this sinecure, which he at once vacates for the benefit of others. The Stewardship of the manors of East Hendred, Northshead, and Hempholme, are other sinecure offices made use of for the same purpose.

The President of the House of Commons is called the Speaker. He is elected by the members from their own body; and it is his duty to maintain order in the House, to represent it, and speak on its behalf whenever it is necessary to address the Sovereign or the House of Lords. He takes no part in the debates, and gives no vote except when the number of members on each side in a division happen to be equal; and then he has the casting vote. When, however, the House is in Committee on a Bill, the Speaker leaves the chair, and becomes, in all respects, an ordinary member. Every member who speaks in the House professes to address himself to the Speaker.

We have already stated that the Sovereign assembles, prorpgues, and dissolves Parliament at pleasure; but, in

practice, Parliament meets once a-year. For, as the money which is required to carry on the business of the country can only be raised for one year by a Parliamentary vote, an annual session of Parliament cannot be dispensed with. Moreover, the Mutiny Act—that is, the law by which discipline is maintained in the army—is only passed for a single year; so that, if Parliament did not meet annually, that Act would expire, and the soldiers would not be obliged to obey their officers. Besides, there would be no means of paying them.

No Parliament can exist for more than seven years; but, as a matter of fact, their average duration is about four years.

The House of Commons, as at present constituted, consists of six hundred and seventy members, four hundred and sixty-five of whom represent English constituencies, thirty Welsh, seventy-two Scottish, and one hundred and three Irish. This is far from what it should be if the representation were in proportion to the population; for then England would have twenty-five more members; Wales, four less; Scotland, about the same number; and Ireland, twenty less.

Many of the great centres of population are very inadequately represented. For example, the County of London returns sixty-two members to the Imperial Parliament, whereas it should have seventy-five if representation were in proportion to population.

27.

# PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE.

"It behoves the high, For their own sake, to do things worthily."

BEN JONSON.

VERY law has its origin in one of the two Houses of Parliament; and any member of either can bring in a measure, or *Bill*, as it is called, for consideration. There is, however,

one difference between the two Houses: in the Lower House a member must first move for leave to bring in the Bill; whereas, in the House of Lords, the Bill may be brought in at once. Again, in the House of Commons no motion can be put to the vote unless it has been seconded—that is, unless some other member supports it; but in the Upper House there is no such rule.

No Money Bill can originate with the Lords; nor are they even permitted to amend or alter in any way such a Bill, when brought up from the House of Commons. They must either pass it as a whole, or reject it as a whole; for the Commons regard themselves as the representatives of the great mass of the nation, whose property is at stake; and, therefore, they are jealous of any interference in such matters.

Bills affecting religion or trade cannot be brought into the House of Commons until the proposition has been considered by a Committee of the whole House, and agreed to by it; and Bills involving restitution of honours originate in the House of Lords.

When leave is given to introduce a Bill, it is read a first time and ordered to be printed. Formerly, each Bill was actually read, but this practice ceased when printing came into general use. Now each member is supplied with a copy of the Bill, printed on blue paper, which he can study at leisure, and the Bill is understood to have been "read" when the vote for reading it has passed, and a day is named for the second reading.

It is not usual for those members who may be opposed to a measure to vote against its *first reading*, although they commonly give notice that they will oppose it on the second reading.

At the second reading of a Bill, the motion is made "that this Bill be now read a second time." On this, a member opposed to the Bill may propose to omit the word "now"; and if the House decides to omit that word, it usually permits the words "on this day six months," or "on this day three months," to be added to the question, which is carried in its amended form. Of course, care is taken to name some day on which it is improbable that Parliament will sit. Hence, the order for reading the Bill on that day becomes a lapsed order, and the Bill falls through.

After the Bill has been read a second time it is referred to what is called a *Committee of the whole House*. The House in Committee consists of the same members as before, but under somewhat different regulations. In Committee, the House of Lords is presided over by a peer, elected for that purpose at the commencement of each session, and known as the *Chairman of Committee* 

of the whole House. The Commons, in Committee, are presided over by the *Chairman of Committee of Ways* and Means, who is a member elected at the opening of each Parliament.

When the House of Commons is in Committee, the symbol of the Speaker's authority—the mace—which usually lies on the table, is placed underneath. In both Houses, members in Committee may speak any number of times on each question; but when a Bill is before the House itself, no member is allowed to speak more than once on the same question.

Each clause of a Bill is debated in Committee, and put to the vote separately, when it is either passed, rejected, or amended. When, as usually happens, the labours of a Committee extend over more than a single sitting, the Committee "reports progress," and asks leave to sit again; hence, a motion in Committee "that the Chairman do report progress," is tantamount to a motion in the House for the adjournment of the debate; for a Committee cannot adjourn its sitting, as it only sits by permission of the House.

A Bill, having passed through the ordeal of Committee, is reported to the House, when the amendments made in Committee can be reconsidered, or further amendments introduced. Then a motion is made for the *third reading*; and if this is agreed to, it is moved "that the Bill do now pass."

It is not usual to oppose a Bill in these last two stages, although it is perfectly allowable to do so, and, as a matter of fact, it sometimes occurs.

Having passed one House, a Bill is sent to the other, where it is considered in a similar way, and, if approved, it is submitted to the Sovereign, whose sanction makes it an *Act of Parliament*, when it is printed on white paper, and its clauses become sections.

### 28.

## PARLIAMENTARY CUSTOMS.

"It is the land that freemen till,

That sober-suited Freedom chose,

The land, where girt with friends or foes

A man may speak the thing he will."

TENNYSON.

HEN a Bill has passed the House of Lords, the peers who are opposed to it have the privilege of entering a protest against it, and these protests are regularly kept; but, in the House of Commons, no such right of protest exists.

There are also some differences between the Houses in the mode of recording their *votes*: in divisions, the Lords are ranged into "Contents" and "Non-Contents"; the Commons into "Ayes" and "Noes."

Both in the Lords and Commons two tellers on each side are appointed by the Speaker; in both, the "Contents" and "Ayes" go into the lobby on the right of the Speaker; the "Non-Contents" and the "Noes" into the lobby on the left. As they pass into their respective lobbies the names of the members are recorded by clerks, and their numbers are counted by the tellers.

These "tellers" derive their name from the old use of the verb "to tell"—that is, "to count." 1

Members who find it inconvenient to attend the House at certain times make arrangements to "pair"—that is, the whips pair off two members who desire to vote on opposite sides, so that they may absent themselves for a time without disturbing the balance of parties. We have mentioned the "whips," and it will be well here to explain that they are members told off to see that, if possible, the whole strength of the party they represent shall be present when the House divides. The same name is also given to the circulars they send out to members urging them to be in their places at a certain time. Each Parliamentary party has, as a rule, two whips.

There are different modes of opposing a motion in Parliament. For example, a member may simply speak and vote against it, or he may move what is called "the previous question," a custom which arose in this way:—In olden times it was the rule that every member, before moving the first reading of a Bill, should obtain the consent of the House to consider the measure at all. As this step was found to waste time, it was allowed to drop, except on those occasions when a member, not intending to express any opinion on the merits of a proposed measure, wishes to quash it. He then moves "the previous question"—that is, that the House shall first consider whether it is advisable to entertain the subject at all, or to pass it by. The mover of "the

<sup>1</sup> From the Anglo-Saxon "tellan," to number.

previous question" then votes against his motion—that is to say, he votes that the House do not entertain the question.

If a member has reason to believe that the business of the House is being unduly hurried on, or brought forward when the majority of its opponents are absent, he has the privilege of moving an *adjournment*; and, when a division has been taken on that question, if there is a majority against such adjournment, he, or any other member, may soon after move again "that the House do now adjourn;" for, though the same motion may not be made twice, the addition of the word "now," denoting a different time, renders this latter a new motion.

By persevering in such tactics as these, a small compact body of members, or even a single member, may delay the proceedings of the House; but, of course, no right-thinking members would resort to this extreme step unless strongly impressed with its necessity.

The House of Lords may continue to sit and transact business, however small the number of peers present; in the House of Commons, on the contrary, any member may move "that the House be counted;" and if less than forty members are present, the House must adjourn, when it is said to be "counted out."

The people are not allowed to interfere with the debates in Parliament, and no member of either House can be held responsible, out-of-doors, for any statement made there; but the people have the right to petition either House, or even the Sovereign.

Petitions to the Sovereign are presented through the Ministers, usually through the Home Secretary; though from some great public bodies, such as the Universities, the Sovereign receives petitions on the throne.

A Petition to either House of Parliament may be presented by any member of the House, who does so by moving that it be "laid on the table." In the House of Lords the presenter of a petition sometimes makes a speech in its support, and long debates have arisen in this way; but the House of Commons has a rule against this.

## 29.

# THE VETO OF THE LORDS.

"Then you love us, we you, and we'll clasp hands: When peers thus knit, a kingdom ever stands."

SHAKSPERE.



HEN the Lords reject a Bill which has been passed by the Commons, or the Commons one which has been passed by the Lords, unless the matter is one in which the country takes

great interest, the veto of one House is accepted by the other, and the rejected measure lies dormant till it is revived in another session.

If either of the two Houses obstinately refuses to pass a Bill approved by the other House, certain steps are taken to bring about an agreement. When the House of Commons opposes, the Sovereign may dissolve Parliament, trusting that a new election will return members more favourable to the measure.

In the rare cases when the House of Lords refuses to pass a Bill which the public is determined to have, four courses are open to the aggrieved Commons—they may induce the Sovereign to prorogue Parliament for a short time, and present a similar, but new, Bill to the Lords on re-assembling; they may appeal to the country, and pass a similar Bill in a new Parliament; they may obtain the permission of the Sovereign to create as many peers favourable to the measure as will form a majority in the House; or, lastly, they may attach the measure to a money Bill, which the Lords are not at liberty to reject.

Examples of these four courses may now be cited. On the first introduction of the Reform measure, which was finally passed in 1832, the second reading was carried in the House of Commons by a majority of one—three hundred and two members voting for it; three hundred and one against it. The Ministry at once advised the King to dissolve Parliament. This was done, and the new House of Commons carried the second Reform Bill by a majority of one hundred and nine. It was taken up to the Lords by Earl Grey, who laid it before the House in a powerful speech—but in vain; a hostile majority of over forty peers rejected the Bill.

Next year, the Bill, somewhat modified, was again introduced in the Commons, and carried by a greater majority than ever; but the Lords still held out, until the King threatened to create sufficient peers to carry the Bill. A number of members then absented themselves, and the proposals of the Government were accepted by a majority of nine.

When, at a later stage, the House of Lords carried an amendment which would have been fatal to the Bill, the Ministry went to the King. The only way in which the situation could be dealt with was by creating a sufficient number of peers to carry the Bill through the House of Lords. This the King refused to do, and the whole Ministry resigned; but the Duke of Wellington, who was called upon to form a new Cabinet, failed to do so, and Earl Grey was once more called to office. Then it was that the Lords, seeing the country was in earnest, gave way; and the Reform Bill, having passed through both Houses, received the Royal assent, and became law on the seventh of June, 1832.

In 1860, Mr. Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed to augment the Income Tax in order to repeal the Excise duty on paper. This proposal was carried in the Commons by the narrow majority of nine; and when the Bill embodying it came before the House of Lords, it was rejected by a majority of eighty-nine. The Commons determined, in future, to comprise the whole of the money votes of the year in one Bill, and, as the Lords are not at liberty to reject part of a money Bill, compel the Peers to accept the entire scheme, or condemn it as a whole.

In 1884, the House of Lords threw out the Reform Bill on the ground that it was not accompanied by a scheme of redistribution of seats. Upon this the Ministry withdrew their Bill; but, following the precedent of 1830, assembled Parliament for an Autumn Session. It seemed for some time as if there would be a serious dispute between the two Houses, till the Ministry undertook to introduce the Redistribution Bill at once if the Franchise Bill were passed. The leaders of the Opposition, encouraged by this concession, met those of the Government, and settled the details of the Redistribution Bill; and thus a breach between the Houses was avoided.

Since that time the Lords have thrown out no Bill passed by the Commons until quite recently, when, by an overwhelming majority of more than ten to one, they refused their assent to Mr. Gladstone's Bill for the Better Government of Ireland, commonly spoken of as the "Home Rule Bill," which was passed in the Commons by a majority of thirty-four.

In conclusion, we may state that one thing is certain—the House of Lords in the future will throw out no Bill that is backed up by the popular opinion of Great Britain. The value of this Assembly as a part of the Constitution is that it prevents ill-considered projects passing into law.

Theoretically, the Crown is still at liberty to refuse assent to a Bill that has been passed by the Commons; but, practically, the Sovereign has not asserted this prerogative since the reign of Queen Anne; and we can imagine no case in which its assent will ever be refused; for the Crown can only act on the advice of its responsible Ministers, who, in their turn, depend on the favour of the Commons.

80.

### THE CABINET.

"And statesmen at her Council met

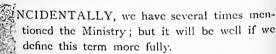
Who knew the season when to take

Occasion by the hand, and make

The bounds of freedom wider yet.

By shaping some august decree,
Which kept her throne unshaken still,
Broad-based upon the people's will,
And compass'd by the inviolate sea."

TENNYSON.



The Sovereign of England rules through a *Ministry* or *Cabinet*, composed of prominent officials. These Cabinet Ministers form a standing committee of the *Privy Council*, a body of eminent men selected by the Sovereign as advisers. The Cabinet holds frequent meetings; but the Privy Council is summoned only on very important occasions.

The Privy Council forms a Court of Appeal from the Civil Law Courts, and from the local tribunals of our colonies and dependencies; but these judicial functions are exercised by a body selected from the mass and termed the "Judicial Committee of the Privy Council." Its political functions have ceased; and the title of Privy Councillor is now merely honorary.

The Cabinet Ministers, usually called "the Government," are held responsible for all the acts of the Sovereign, it being an established principle in the British Constitution that "the King can do no wrong." These Ministers remain in office only so long as they are sustained by a majority in the House of Commons. Whenever the vote of the House is cast against any important measure proposed by the Ministry, it is accepted by them as expressing "a want of confidence in the Government" on the part of the people.

Two courses are then open to the Ministry: they may either resign at once, in which case the Sovereign calls upon the leader of the opposite party to form a new Ministry; or they may "appeal to the country," in which case the Sovereign dissolves Parliament, and issues writs for a new election.

Should the new House of Commons be in sympathy with the Ministry, they remain in office; if not, they promptly resign, and a new Ministry is formed of the opposite party. As the result of the election is soon known, the question as to which Ministry shall reign is usually settled before the meeting of the new Parliament.

An interesting fact may be mentioned here, showing the authority attached to custom in this country. Although the Cabinet has existed as a real executive power for more than a century and a-half, it is an institution entirely unknown to the law, never having been recognised by any Act of Parliament. There is no official announcement of the names of its members, and no official record is kept of its meetings.

## · LORD CHIEF JUSTICE ·



· LORD CHANCELLOR ·

· CHANCERY JUDGE ·

The name "Cabinet" is said to have been derived from the apartment of Queen Henrietta, in which the advisers of Charles the First were accustomed to meet.

The number of Ministers forming the Cabinet is usually from twelve to fifteen. The first Lord of the Treasury, the Prime Minister, the Lord Chancellor, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the President of the Council, the three Secretaries of State—Home, Foreign, and Colonial—are always members of the Cabinet; some other offices are usually, but not always, accompanied by a seat in it.

Not only are the legislative measures proposed by the Crown, the conduct of the internal government of the country and its relations with other states, entrusted to Ministers, but they have also the disposal of the patronage belonging to the Crown.

Should the Prime Minister for the time being happen to be a peer, as is very frequently the case, some member of the Cabinet, usually the Chancellor of the Exchequer, acts as "leader" of the Ministers and chief representative of the Government in the House of Commons, where the conflict of parties is chiefly fought. So convenient is this system of leadership found that any considerable body of the opposition usually finds it advisable to select a similar head.

A certain majority in the Commons, however small, is necessary for carrying on the Government, which may be described as strong or weak, according to the size of this majority. The truth is, whatever may be said in theory of the balance of power in the different branches

of the legislature, that the House of Commons has been, since the Revolution of 1688, and, still more emphatically, since the Reform Act of 1832, the paramount power in the State.

When the majority of the House of Commons is decisive and firm to its purpose, it can compel either the Crown or the House of Lords to give way; for, by resorting to the extreme measure of stopping supplies, it might, were its demands not acceded, bring to a stand-still the whole machinery of Government.

### 81.

# PARTY GOVERNMENT.

"O, it is excellent
To have a giant's strength: but tyrannous
To use it like a giant."

SHAKSPERE.

S the earth is kept in its orbit by the due balance of centripetal and centrifugal forces, so is every civilised society held together by the opposite influences of conservative and progressive tendencies. The conservative tendency may be likened to the centripetal force which binds the mass together, while the progressive one resembles that centrifugal force which prevents it being concentrated in a rigid and inert body, without life or motion.

"In the societies of the ancient world, and to the present day in the East, the conservative tendency unduly preponderates, and they crystallise into inert masses in the form of despotisms. At times, the pentup forces which make for change accumulate; and, as in the French Revolution, explode with destructive violence, shattering the old, and bringing in new eras.

"The happiest nations are those in which the individual character of individual citizens supplies the requisite balance. An ideal society is one in which every citizen is, at the same time, liberal and conservative; law-abiding, and yet with a strong instinct for liberty of thought and action, for progress and for individual independence.

"It is among the Teutonic races, especially when they are placed in favourable conditions, as in new countries or in old countries, where for ages

Freedom has broadened slowly down From precedent to precedent,

that this happy ideal is most nearly realised. Hence it is that these races are more and more coming to the front, and surviving in the struggle for existence.

"Where the essential quality of being law-abiding is wanting in individuals, it is hopeless to look for real liberty. The centripetal force in societies, as in planets, must be supplied somehow, or they would fly into dissolution. In order that a nation shall be law-abiding it is essential that the great majority should feel that, on the whole, the law is their friend." 1

Free government implies government by the majority of the people; and, in any state which is self-governed, the majority, in the long run, must rule; but those

states which have made most progress in the work of self-government have shown most respect for minorities. Of course, self-government would be a delusion if the drag of the opposition had as much force as the motive power of the government. But parliamentary business was formerly much impeded by factious opposition, till, in 1882, measures were taken to put a stop to such practices.

Much time was taken up by questions put to the Ministers of the Crown; and under the old rules, a member who was not satisfied with the answer given, might move the adjournment of the House, and so raise a debate on the point at issue. Under the new rules, such a motion can only be made after written notice to the Speaker, and when it is supported by forty members rising in their places to indicate their desire that the motion should proceed.

The new rules, too, authorised the use of the closure, which gave a member the right to rise in his place and move that the question be now put; and, unless it appears to the Chairman that such a motion is an abuse of the rules of the House, or invades the privileges of the minority, the question is at once put, and the vote taken without further debate. A motion for the closure of a debate, however, cannot be carried unless it is supported by at least one hundred members; but should the closure be adopted, the question before the House is at once decided without debate.

Power was placed in the hands of the Chairman to stop any member when he persisted in wasting the time of the House by repeating either his own arguments or those used by other members, and also to order a disorderly member to withdraw, or even to name him, when the Leader of the House moves his suspension from the service of the House.

So, we see that the House of Commons has been compelled to make new rules in order that it may get through its business, and may not have its peace disturbed by disorderly members. With the former object in view, it empowered the majority, with the consent of the Chair, to bring a debate to an end; and with both objects in view, it has largely increased the authority of the Chair.

Such rules as these, like doubled-edged tools, are dangerous; for, in the hands of an autocratic leader of the Opposition, they tend to cripple freedom of debate, the only safeguard of well-considered legislation.

# 32.

# DAILY WORK OF THE COMMONS, ETC.

"The business of the House of Commons is conducted by a few persons, but these are hard worked. The high civil and legal offices are not beds of ease, but posts which exact frightful amounts of mental labour.

EMERSON.

N concluding our review of the Parliamentary system it will be well to state briefly the manner in which the House of Commons usually disposes of its time. During a session

the Lower House, as a general rule, sits on five of the

six working days in each week. It meets at three o'clock in the afternoons of Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday; but on Wednesday members assemble at noon.

On Wednesday the business is interrupted at half-past five, no matter at what stage the question under consideration stands; on other days, at midnight, except when a Minister of the Crown has carried a motion at the commencement of the sitting to suspend the "twelve o'clock rule," in which case the House continues to sit until some definite stage in its business is reached.

On the interruption of the question before the House members sit on Wednesdays till six o'clock; but the evening sittings are carried into the next day, closing at one o'clock in the morning, so as to transact other business on the agenda paper. The business of each sitting consists of what is known as the "orders of the day," and notices of motions.

An "order of the day" is a Bill or other business appointed to be considered on the day named. Monday, Thursday, and Friday in each week are reserved for Government orders; Tuesday for notices of motions; Wednesday for the orders of private members.

Thus, we see that part of the time is at the disposal of the Government, whilst the remainder is at the command of such private members as are fortunate enough to secure a date for their proposals by ballot; but Governments sometimes encroach on the private members' sittings, or fix so-called morning sittings, which are held from two in the afternoon till seven in the evening, for Tuesdays and Fridays.

Lastly, let us state in plain language the *mode of electing a member to sit in Parliament*. On a day appointed the polling stations are open from eight in the morning till eight in the evening. They are frequently held in schoolrooms, and wooden partitions with desks are erected therein to ensure privacy. The presiding officer, with his clerk, takes care of the ballot-box, which is placed on a table before them; and they also superintend the voting.

A voter, on entering, confides his name and address to the presiding officer, who refers to the register in order to see that the voter's name and address are printed there, and also to make sure that the vote has not been recorded earlier in the day. Having satisfied himself on these points, he hands a ballot-paper to the voter, who retires to one of the desks and marks the ballot-paper with a cross opposite the name of the person for whom he gives his vote. The voter may make no other mark whatever on the paper, nor may he write his name on it.

Before leaving the presiding officer the voter should see that his ballot-paper is stamped, for if this is not done the vote will be rendered invalid. The votes of illiterates are marked according to their wishes by the presiding officer of the polling-place.

After it has been marked by the voter, the paper is put through the slit in the lid of the ballot-box; and, at the close of the election, the box is sealed and taken to the Town Hall, where the votes are counted. It is opened in the presence of the returning-officer; the

papers are examined to see that they are properly marked, and bear the official stamp; all imperfect ones are thrown out, and the remainder are counted. The candidate who has obtained the greater number of votes is declared to be duly elected by the returning-officer.

The only clue to the name of the voter is the number on the counterfoil of the ballot-paper. This agrees with the voter's number on the register; but, as these counterfoils are carefully sealed up, and can only be examined by order of a judge in the event of an election petition, the secrecy of voting is respected.

#### VOTING PAPER.

Counterfoil No. 50,796.	I	JONES. (Alfred Thomas Jones, of Camden Place, London, N., Barrister-at-Law.)	
	, 2	SMITH.  (James Watkin Smith, of Highlands, Sydenham, London, S.E., gentleman.)	X

33.

# THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM.

"Poise the cause in justice's equal scales,

Whose beam stands sure, whose rightful cause prevails."

Shakspere.

HE Common Law of this country is always contrasted with the more modern rules of equity, although, since 1873, the two systems have been administered side by side in our courts.

Our Common Law is composed of two elements, the written and the unwritten law. The written law is contained in many statutes, the duty of interpreting which devolves upon the judges. The unwritten law comprises those principles, usages, and rules of conduct which do not depend for their validity upon any written enactment. Much of the commercial law and of the rules relating to property are included in the term "Common Law."

The Rules of Equity are of more recent growth than those of common law; and they owe their origin to the rigidity and severity of the common law which did not easily adapt itself to the growing requirements of civilisation.

The different causes decided by the laws are either civil or criminal. Civil causes are between man and man, as when disputes arise about property, or when one man claims compensation from another for injuries or damage sustained. Criminal causes are those in which a person is accused of some crime against the community, for which the law assigns a punishment.

In civil causes the accuser is called the plaintiff,

and his opponent the *defendant*; but in criminal causes the accuser is the *prosecutor*, who comes forward in the name of the Sovereign—that is, on behalf of the community of which the Sovereign is the supreme ruler—and the person accused is called the *prisoner*.

The Judges are appointed by the Crown; but the Sovereign has no power to remove any of them except the Lord Chancellor, who, being a Cabinet Minister, retires with the Ministry. A judge can only be deprived of office by being guilty of such misconduct that both Houses of Parliament, in an address to the Sovereign, pray for his removal.

When a person is charged with any crime, a magistrate issues a warrant to bring the accused before him for examination. Before proceeding to examination, however, he is bound to warn him that any statements he may make can be used against him at the trial. Should it appear that no crime has been committed, or that there are no just grounds for suspecting the accused person, he must be set at liberty. On the other hand, should it appear that he is guilty, the accused must give bail for his appearance to answer the charge; but if it is a capital charge, bail cannot be accepted; in that case, the accused must, for safe custody, but not as a punishment, be committed to prison to take his trial at the next sessions.

Before bringing the accused to trial the case must be again discussed by the *Grand Jury*, a body of more than twelve but less than twenty-four persons of substance, selected by the Sheriff. The duty of this jury is not to try the cause, but to see that there is enough evidence against the accused to go before a judge; and this they determine by considering the written accusation or "indictment" evidence for the prosecution. Should twelve of the Grand Jury find the proofs sufficient, they bring in a "true bill" against the accused, who is then sent for trial before a petty jury of twelve men, whose verdict finally decides on the truth or falsehood of the accusation. If, on the contrary, twelve of the Grand Jury do not concur in the opinion that the accusation is well grounded, the accused is immediately discharged.

As the fate of a person accused of a crime depends entirely on the men who form the *Petty Jury*, it is only just that he should have the power to object to any of the jurymen he may deem hostile. Should he suspect that the Sheriff who formed the "panel" is personally interested in the case, he may object to them all; and he has also the right to object to any juryman who has any interest in securing his conviction.

Having "empanelled" the jury, each of whom takes an oath to bring in a verdict according to the evidence, the judge takes his seat upon the bench, the indictment is read, and the prosecutor proceeds to prove his accusation. The witnesses for the prosecution must be examined in the presence of the accused, and he or his counsel is allowed to cross-examine them, as well as to produce witnesses in his own behalf.

When the evidence on both sides has been advanced, the judge sums up, and the jury retire to agree to their verdict, which must be unanimous,

84.

### CRIMINAL COURTS OF LAW.

"The English laws punish vice; the Chinese laws do more, they reward virtue."

GOLDSMITH.

OURTS of Justice are concerned either with criminal cases where, some offence having been committed against the public peace or social good order, the Queen is the nominal

prosecutor, and punishment in some form is awarded to the wrong-doer; or they are concerned with *civil* cases relating to disputes between private individuals, chiefly in questions concerning property, these disputes being decided by means of formal proceedings called actions. We consider here, in the order of their dignity, those Courts having a criminal jurisdiction.

When Parliament is acting in its legislative capacity, that of considering and making laws, it cannot strictly be termed a Court, although it sometimes punishes great offenders by passing Bills of Attainder, or Bills of Pains and Penalties. Sitting, however, in a judicial capacity, as the High Court of Parliament, to execute the law, it has the highest jurisdiction of any criminal court. It then tries offenders by their "Impeachment," or trial, before the House of Lords by the Commons acting as prosecutors representing the public. In the House of Lords, also, may be tried by "Indictment," i.e., by written accusation, those peers and peeresses who have been charged with some grave offence.

The Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice has both civil and criminal jurisdiction, but the latter is rarely used unless the circumstances of the case are extraordinary. All offences committed anywhere in England may, if necessary, be removed to this Court, in which the Lord Chief Justice and the Judges of the Queen's Bench Division preside.

The tribunals we have noticed exercise their jurisdiction irrespective of the place where the offence was committed. Those to which we now come are local—that is, are found all over the kingdom, but each is attached to a particular district. Assises are held four times a-year for the trial of prisoners, the country being divided into eight circuits, over each of which one or more of the Queen's Bench judges travel, holding Courts at all the county and assize towns. The judges do not sit in virtue of their position as judges, but as the holders of commissions from the Crown, specially sent to try felonies and misdemeanours, so that the jails may be periodically cleared.

The Central Criminal Court was established in 1834 for the trial of offences committed in London, Middlesex, and certain parts of the adjoining counties. The jurisdiction is the same as that of the Assizes. The sittings of this Court, or "Sessions," are held monthly; and, usually, at each Sessions, the Recorder, Common Sergeant, and Judge of the City of London Court sit on the first two days, after which they are joined by the Queen's Bench Judge on the rota, who comes to try the more serious cases. On the

Bench there is always the Lord Mayor, or one of the Aldermen, who lends the dignity of his presence to the proceedings, but does not take any active part in them. Sometimes offences are removed here from the country for trial when, for any good reason, it is expedient that they should not be tried in the locality where they were committed.

The Courts of *Quarter Sessions*, which are held for civil business as well as criminal, are of two kinds, namely—the County Quarter Sessions, and the Borough Quarter Sessions.

The former are held in every county at least once aquarter before two or more Justices of the Peace. Usually a large number of Justices attend, one acting as Chairman and Judge, but consulting the other Justices as occasion requires.

The latter Sessions are also held at least once aquarter in those Corporate Towns or Boroughs having Quarter Sessions of their own. The Recorder of the Borough, who must be a Barrister of not less than five years' standing, is then the sole judge.

Both these Courts of Quarter Sessions are confined to the trial of the smaller felonies and misdemeanours. Thus, they may not try such serious cases as treason, murder, and forgery. They also hear appeals against summary convictions by Justices at Petty Sessions in those cases where such appeals are allowed.

Besides these Courts, there may be noticed the Court of the Coroner, which sits to enquire into cases of sudden or violent death, and certain special and local courts of

no great importance, such as the University Courts of Oxford and Cambridge. Petty Sessional Courts, the lowest



A BARRISTER.

kind of Criminal Courts, have already been noticed in the chapter on "Police and Justice."

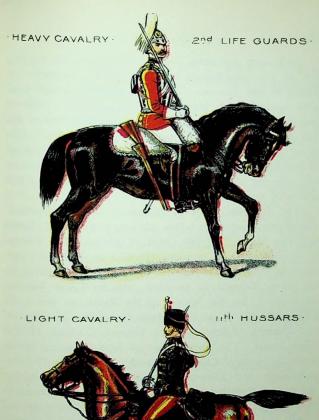
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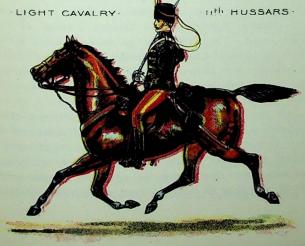
## CIVIL COURTS OF LAW.

"To go to law, is for two persons to kindle a fire at their own cost to warm others, and singe themselves to cinders; and because they cannot agree as to what is truth and equity, they will both agree to unplume themselves, that others may be decorated with their feathers"

FELTHAM.

HE ancient Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, derived their origin from the "Aula Regis," or King's Court, which, under our Norman princes, was the superior Court of Justice in England. These Courts were at first in the nature of committees of the "Aula Regis," each occupied with a specific portion of legal business; but, by the reign of Edward I., they had obtained a separate existence, and their parent, the "Aula Regis," survived only in them. The Court of Chancery, the next Court in historical order, owed its inception and final creation, in the reign of Edward III., to the imperfections of common law, as administered in the three more ancient Courts. In this Court, the Lord Chancellor, as "Keeper of the King's Conscience," was not tied by strict rules of common law, which often worked injustice to suitors, and he administered equity, or natural justice, when necessary. At more recent periods we find Courts established for dealing with questions relating to Probate. Admiralty, Divorce, and Bankruptcy matters.





Such were the most important ancient Civil Courts; but all are consolidated now, and their jurisdiction is vested in the Supreme Court of Judicature, which thus, after centuries of separation, re-unites the different branches of the "Aula Regis," and is established as the one Superior Court of Justice in the country. This great change has been effected since 1875 by a group of statutes known as the Judicature Acts; these statutes also allowing all Courts to administer both strict law and equity as occasion requires.

The Supreme Court of Judicature is divided permanently into two parts—Her Majesty's Court of Appeal and Her Majesty's High Court of Justice. The former, to which appeals lie from the High Court, just as appeals lie from it to the House of Lords, and in some cases to the Privy Council, is presided over by Lords Justices of Appeal, by the Master of the Rolls, by the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice, and the President of the Probate, Admiralty, and Divorce Division of the High Court. The High Court of Justice consists of the three Divisions of Chancery, Queen's Bench, and Probate, Admiralty and Divorce, presided over respectively by the three Judges last mentioned. In all, there are twentynine Judges of the Supreme Court.

All the Judges of the High Court exercise their jurisdiction either as "Divisional Courts," composed of two Judges, or singly in "Chambers," a kind of smaller Court, where they decide points of practice, and where in some cases they decide the rights of litigants summarily; or they sit singly in court, either with or without

a jury. Subordinate judges, such as Masters, Referees, and Chief Clerks also do a considerable amount of lesser judicial work in Chambers.

The Courts hold four sittings for business in each year, and each Division confines itself, as formerly the ancient Courts did, to particular branches of law. Thus, disputes arising out of contracts and actions for damages are, for the most part, tried in the Queen's Bench; but matters relating to infants and wards, trusts and questions of account are assigned the Chancery Division.

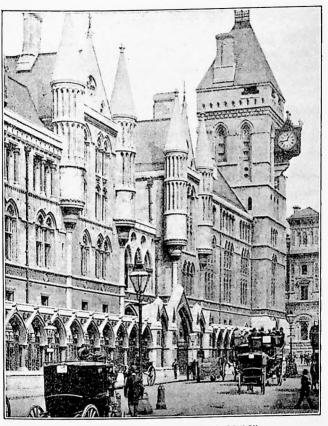
There are several modes in which actions may be tried in the High Court, the most ancient being that by a judge and jury. Every man between twenty-one and sixty, except such specially exempted persons as peers, clergymen, doctors, and lawyers, who possesses a sufficient property qualification, is liable to serve on *Juries*. These are "Common Jurors;" but those persons who possess higher rank or qualifications are called "Special Jurors." Many cases are now tried by a judge without a jury; but litigants can claim a jury as of right in certain actions such as libel, slander, and breach of promise of marriage.

These civil jurors must not be confused with those who sit in criminal cases. In Criminal Courts there is a Grand Jury, selected from the principal men of the locality, who decide whether a person ought to be put on his trial for an alleged offence, and there is also a Petty Jury who actually try the case and determine whether the accused is guilty or not.

Besides the High Court, which also periodically tries

civil cases at assize and county towns when the judges go on circuit, we may notice two Courts—the Lord Mayor's Court and the City of London Court—which are concerned with cases arising in the City of London. There are also County Courts established by statute in 1846 all over the country. These County Courts are presided over by County Court Judges, and they have jurisdiction in most matters up to certain money limits. The County Court Judges are assisted in the smaller cases by Registrars, and they travel round the County Court circuits into which the country is divided, holding their Courts at fixed places within each circuit. An appeal lies from all these lesser Courts to the High Court.

To complete our view of the Civil Courts, we should notice the *Judicial Committee of the Privy Council*. In this Committee appeals from our fellow-subjects abroad are heard, as well as certain ecclesiastical and other special matters. The whole body of the Privy Council can also grant charters of incorporation, and it issues Orders in Council and publishes Royal Proclamations relating to matters of public importance, such as quarantine and the coinage. The Privy Council is descended from the ancient Ordinary Council of the early kings, a body of confidential advisers who assisted the king in his daily business, and its members are still nominated by the Sovereign.



THE NEW LAW COURTS, TEMPLE BAR, LONDON.

#### 86.

# STATE INTERFERENCE.

"We assemble Parliaments and Councils to have the benefit of their collected wisdom; but, we necessarily have, at the same time, the inconvenience of their collected passions, prejudices, and private interests."

FRANKLIN.

HERE is no doubt but that both good and evil have resulted from State interference. "It is very undesirable that the State should become a sort of Jack-of-all-trades, and undertake

branches of business which can be conducted by private enterprise. It is undesirable for two reasons: first, because the work is certain to cost more and be worse done; secondly, for the still more important reason that it tends to extinguish individual enterprise, strangle progress with red-tape, and teach a nation to look, like children, to outside guidance, rather than, like men, to their own. Still, the question has two sides. Whatever individual enterprise can do should be left to it; but, there are, in the complex conditions of modern society, a number of things which cannot be done by individuals, and which must either be left undone, or done by the State, or by some local authority, joint-stock company, or other body sanctioned by the State.

"Thus, if it were a question of bringing coals from Newcaștle by sea, no one would suggest that the State should interfere with the private enterprise of ship-owners; but to bring them by land requires railways, and railways can only be built by capital beyond the reach of private individuals. If the State had not delegated a portion of its powers to joint-stock companies, not a ton of coal would ever have been brought by land to London.

"And, if the State may thus occasionally delegate its powers with advantage to the community, there are cases where it may, with equal advantage, undertake itself branches of the nation's business. For instance, the *Postal Service*,

"The advantages of a cheap and uniform system for the collection and delivery of letters throughout the whole kingdom are so great that they far outweigh any theoretical objection to State interference. Possibly, some of the larger towns might have been as well or better served by private enterprise, but no non-paying district would have had a post office, and the enormous commercial and educational benefits of the penny post would have been in a great measure lost to the community.

"The case of *Telegraphs* is not so clear. Probably, on the whole, the advantages of a uniform State management preponderate; but there are drawbacks, which make it doubtful. Even at a sixpenny rate a great deal of the telegraphic communication of the large towns and active centres of business is taxed to make up for the deficiency of the rest of the kingdom. Moreover, invention and improvement in telegraphy are no doubt checked by creating a State monopoly whose first duty it is to try to satisfy its masters at the Treasury by making the system pay.

"When we come to Railways we are on debateable

ground, and it is fair to argue that they should be worked by the State for the public good. But the objections here outweigh the advantages. If railways had been in the hands of the State, I do not suppose that we should have had half our present mileage; for the Treasury would never have sanctioned the outlay of public money on lines which could not show the prospect of a fair return on the capital, and it would have vetoed any increase in the number of trains, or reduction of rates which threatened loss to the Exchequer.

"In other departments, the supply of such articles as pater and gas, and the enforcement of sanitary conditions, are probably best left to local authorities; in the latter case, under some central supervision to see that the duty is not evaded. Wherever neglect involves danger to others, as in the case of small-pox and other contagious epidemics, it is clear that the decision cannot be left to individuals, and the State is bound to interfere to enforce rational precautions.

"So, also, the State is bound to undertake trades which are essential for the protection of the nation against foreign foes. Our *dockyards* and *arsenals* may, and doubtless do, often make mistakes and turn out expensive work; but we could not safely leave the building of ironclads and supply of cannon solely to private enterprise, for there is no such large and steady demand for such articles as would induce a number of private firms to erect works and keep up establishments adequate to supply the wants which might arise in an emergency.

"In all such matters, therefore, of national defence we must put up with a certain amount of drawbacks incidental to State management, and confine ourselves to endeavouring to reduce them to a minimum."

SAMUEL LAING.

37.

# THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, &c.

"The manner in which England had neglected the education of her poor children had long been a reproach to her civilisation. . . . For years the statesmanship of England had been kept from any scrious attempt to grapple with the evil by the doctrine that popular education ought not to be the business of a Government."

JUSTIN M'CARTHY.

N the year 1839 a Committee of the Privy Council was appointed to deal with the subject of national education; and later on, in 1853, a "Committee of Council on Edu-

cation" was set up, placed under the control of the President of the Council, with a secretary, two assistant secretaries, and a large staff of clerks. Shortly afterwards, a Vice-President of the Council was added.

This great public Department has many very important duties to perform. It has to see that every one of the school districts in the land has "a sufficient amount of accommodation in public elementary schools available for all the children resident in such district for whose elementary education efficient and suitable provision is not otherwise made." If the districts

lack school accommodation, the Department has power to see that the deficiency is made good.

The action of the Department is regulated by a parliamentary paper called "The Code," a minute issued annually by the Committee of Council fixing the conditions upon which grants are paid to schools, which is laid on the tables of both Houses of Parliament for a month before being acted upon.

The Department of Science and Art is attached to the Education Department, and is managed by a Board composed of the Lord President and Vice-President of the Council only, but they are advised by the permanent members of the staff.

The Local Government Board, which was constituted by Act of Parliament in 1871, has for its duties "the supervision of the laws relating to public health, the relief of the poor, and local government." It consists of a President appointed by Her Majesty, and holding office during her pleasure; of the following ex-officio members—that is to say, the Lord President of the Council, all the principal Secretaries of State, the Lord Privy Seal, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

All the work of this important Department is performed by its President, assisted by a staff of secretaries and clerks. The Board may require the local authorities of any district to remove nuisances, or it may make regulations to prevent the spread of infectious diseases; and should these local authorities omit to do their duty in such matters, the Board has the power to step in and enforce their performance, or appoint some person to do it.

Again, through its inspectors, the Local Government Board overlooks the doings of local authorities, and thus sees that they carry out the duties entrusted to them.

The *Board of Trade* consists of a President and four secretaries with a large staff of clerks. It consists of five great departments.

The Statistical and Commercial Department of the Board of Trade prepares certain "Blue-books" and abstracts containing a vast amount of information relating to the United Kingdom, the Colonies, and Foreign Countries; and it also compiles the statistics relating to commerce, railways, agriculture, cotton, and emigration.

The Railway Department inspects the new works of the various companies, and conducts the inquiries into accidents when such occur. It also inspects tramways, and approves bye-laws made by railway and tramcar companies if they are suitable.

The Marine Department concerns itself with the health, discipline, and proper treatment of ships' crews; the qualifications, care, and conduct of those who command them, as well as the condition of the vessels themselves.

The Harbour Department has under its charge the foreshores belonging to the Crown, and has power over harbours, lighthouses, and pilots; and, in addition to all this, it tests weights and measures, gas, petroleum, and administers the Coinage Act.

The Financial Department deals not only with the general accounts of the Board of Trade, but presents to Parliament those of the Life Assurance Companies.

The newly-created *Board of Agriculture* deals with the extermination of noxious insects, takes precautions to stamp out or prevent the spread of infectious diseases of animals, and administers the Acts of Parliament relating to commons and allotments.

38.

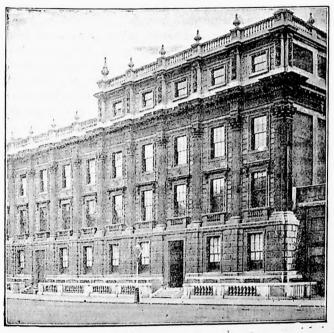
# THE HOME OFFICE.

HE Secretaries of State, now five in number, are the chief channels of communication between the Sovereign and her subjects. Each Secretary is head of an important Depart-

ment of Government, and in that Department he has numerous powers conferred upon him by statute, and he also administers certain prerogatives of the Crown, for which he is answerable to Parliament.

The prototype, or origin, of these high officials is to be found in the appointment of a "King's Secretary" in the reign of Henry III., when the business of the nation had increased beyond the personal powers of the Sovereign, aided although he had been by the Chancellor and his staff. We find that as this business steadily increased, additional Secretaries were from time to time appointed to cope with it, till, from being mere courtiers of the Sovereign's household, they eventually became responsible men selected from amongst the highest and ablest subjects of the realm.

Even after it had become a settled custom to appoint Secretaries, their respective duties were ill-defined and confused. Thus, we learn that until the year 1782 the Secretary of State for the Home Department not only superintended home affairs, but also Colonial and Irish business, and even some military matters as well. This



THE HOME OFFICE.

confusion of duties was rectified in the present century; but the Home Office is still the busiest and most responsible of the Government Departments, owing to

innumerable statutes passed in the last fifty years, which give it the control of order, health, and the general well-being of the community.

The Home Secretary is first in precedence of all the Secretaries, and his duties bring him into immediate personal relations with the Sovereign. As principal Secretary, he has many customary duties which are not shared by his colleagues. In the exercise of these peculiar duties, he arranges and attends Royal ceremonies, and that is why he was a prominent figure at the Sovereign's Jubilce and at the opening of the Imperial Institute. So also he notifies declarations of war and treaties of peace. His most peculiar and domestic duty is, perhaps, concerned with the due authentication and notification of births, marriages, and deaths in the circle of the Royal Family. He further prepares and countersigns patents of nobility and all documents requiring the Sovereign's signature. In a word, he is, as we have said, the great channel of communication between the Sovereign and her subjects.

The business of the Home Secretary's Department is, for convenience, arranged in Criminal, Domestic, and General Divisions, each being superintended by a principal clerk.

The duties of the Home Secretary are to deal with all communications passing between the Sovereign and her subjects, and to notify public events and the Royal pleasure; to enforce and maintain public peace and order; and to enforce those rules made for the general well-being of the community.

Thus, he receives petitions and addresses to the Sovereign, notifying the Royal pleasure in respect of them. He performs all those customary duties above noticed, and he communicates the Royal wishes to the Lieutenant-Governors of the Channel Islands and of the Isle of Man.

He is responsible for peace and order throughout the land. This is his great and chief duty, and, to this end, we find—as we should naturally expect—that his powers are very large. Thus, he may control the elements of possible disorder by exercising his powers under the Naturalization Acts in refusing to admit ineligible persons to citizenship, or he may procure the extradition of persons whom some foreign Government desires to bring to trial. He may open any letters and telegrams in the post, when such a course is desirable, and he can call out the reserves in aid of the civil power.

He organises the administration of justice by supervision of the Courts, their sittings and their work. He appoints many of the minor judicial officers, such as the Public Prosecutor, Recorders, Metropolitan and Stipendiary Magistrates. The control and payment of these officials and their staffs are in his hands.

In the department of the Police he has much to do. He sanctions the appointment of Chief Constables of County Constabulary; he makes rules for them, and appoints Inspectors. The Metropolitan Police, the appointment of its Commissioner and other officers, are under his immediate control; and he has certain advisory

powers over the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their administration of the City Police.

He inspects, regulates, and controls all prisons, reformatories, and criminal lunatic asylums; he grants tickets-of-leave to convicts during good behaviour.

Perhaps his most anxious duty arises when, in some criminal matter, he is called upon to advise the Sovereign whether she should exercise her prerogative of mercy—that is, whether an offender should be reprieved, or freely pardoned, or whether his sentence should be commuted.

The Home Secretary has also miscellaneous regulative duties. These arise under various statutes—some concerning special matters, such as schools of Anatomy and Vivisection, others relating to the general health by ensuring the wholesomeness of land and buildings, the maintenance of open spaces and good sewers, and the detention of habitual drunkards and lunatics.

The Factory and Mines Acts and the Explosives Act especially empower him to protect the health and safety of workers in particular trades. For instance, the Home Secretary may, and does, make stringent rules ensuring the cleanliness and ventilation of factories and workshops; dangerous machinery has to be fenced off; proper meal-hours and place provided; and young children and women are altogether excluded from some very dangerous and unwholesome trades. He also enforces the Education Acts, so far as they relate to the employment of children in trades.

We really might fill a large book with the titles only of the duties which fall to a Home Secretary's care. Those which have been mentioned will amply show how able and conscientious must be the citizen who fills this great post satisfactorily.

Communication between the central Government and Scotland was formerly carried on chiefly through that much-burdened department—the Home Office. In the year 1885, however, the new office of Secretary for Scotland was created by statute, and all Scotch business which had before been transacted in the Home Office and various other departments of Government was concentrated in the Scotch Office. There are two official residences connected with the Secretary for Scotland's work; one at Dover House in London, the other at Parliament Square in Edinburgh. The Secretary is the head of the office; he is appointed by royal warrant, and is assisted in his labours by under-secretaries, clerks, and inspectors. He is not a Secretary of State, although he has the custody of the Great Seal of Scotland. He is rather a representative in London of the various Scotch Local Government Departments. Many of the chief duties with which he is concerned correspond very closely with those of the English Home Secretary in relation to English affairs. The Secretary for Scotland has charge of education in his country in that he is Vice-President of the Committee of the Council on Education in Scotland.

We usually say that the executive Government of Ireland is conducted by the Lord-Lieutenant, assisted

by his Council, subject to the instructions he may receive from the English Home Office. In theory this is correct; but practically the *Chief Secretary for Ireland* carries on the work of the country; and, owing no doubt to the fact that the two countries of England and Ireland are separated by sea, there is a tendency on the part of the central Government to leave matters more and more in his hands.

The Chief Secretary for Ireland helps the Cabinet with his advice as to the policy of government to be pursued in Ireland, and he is responsible to Parliament for the peace and order of the country. His office, like that of the Secretary for Scotland, is situated both in London and in the capital of the country he represents. He is also assisted in his work by under-secretaries and clerks.

#### 89.

#### THE BOARD OF TRADE.

N addition to the great departments of Government, such as the Treasury, the Foreign, Home, and Colonial Offices, there is a group of departments which consists of a number of Boards, the chief of which is the *Board of Trade*. Strictly speaking, the Board of Trade is no more than a name; for the President of the Board of Trade is in fact the sole head of his department.

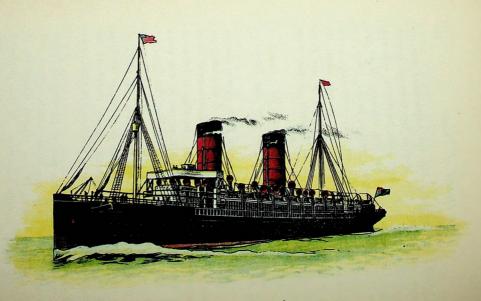
This department has a long history. The idea of creating such a Board seems to have occurred first to

King Charles the Second; but the experiment was not altogether satisfactory, and several Government departments dealing with trade came into existence, and were abolished before the close of the last century. If we may believe the great Parliamentary orator, Burke, there was good reason for their abolition, for they were both costly and inefficient. From 1782 until the present time, the Board of Trade has been a committee of the Privy Council, constituted by Order in Council at the commencement of every reign.

In 1862 it received its official title of "Board of Trade," and its two chief officers are now the President and the Secretary.

At first, the duties of the Board were purely consultative—that is, it collected statistics, and it was ready to offer advice to other departments of Government upon all commercial and trade questions. In 1840 it began to acquire its modern executive functions, as it was then, for the first time, called upon to approve the bye-laws of railway companies. Indeed, from this date, the growth of the administrative powers of the Board was so rapid that its consultative functions soon dwindled to nothing, and we now consider its present duties rather as an exceedingly active department of Government than as an advising body.

The Board still retains one part of its original duties, for it remains the office of the State which collects and publishes the trade returns of the United Kingdom, of the Colonies, and of foreign countries. It also publishes the average prices of corn in England and Wales, and



CUNARD STEAMER "LUCANIA"

it keeps a register of the duties levied by foreign countries upon English goods. It may be said generally that citizens desirous of information upon any matter connected with trade or commerce can obtain it at the offices of the Board of Trade in Whitehall Gardens.

The modern executive duties of the Board of Trade are very numerous and very important. It controls the work of the Patent Office in granting patents for the exclusive use of new inventions; it superintends the registration of trade marks and designs; and, since 1883, the bankruptcy business of the country has been in its hands. It also sees that the proper standard of weights and measures is kept up throughout the land.

The control of railways and tramways, water, gas, electric light, and canal companies is vested in this Board. We cannot do without the conveniences these companies supply, the State therefore entrusts to the Board the task of seeing that all is managed in the safety and interests of the public. It is with this end in view that the Board of Trade makes regulations and bye-laws, that it inspects works, and that it holds enquiries whenever accidents occur.

There are other departments also of the Board of Trade. In the Harbour Department rests the responsibility for a proper maintenance of our harbours, lighthouses, and lightships.\(^1\) Through its Marine

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Trinity House in England, the Commissioners for Northern Lighthouses in Scotland, and the Commissioners for Irish Lighthouses in Ireland, are the bodies which immediately attend to the lighting of our shores, but they act under the Board of Trade.

Department, the Board watches over the interests of merchant-seamen and of passengers by sea by providing for the proper education of seamen and pilots, and for the safety of all by numerous rules relating to the qualifications of sailors, and the building, equipment, and management of ships.

Through its recently established Labour Department, and especially through a newspaper published in this Department—*The Board of Trade Journal*—the nation is informed of the state of labour both at home and abroad

The Board also exercises a control over innumerable ther matters, such as companies and fisheries, and, in s Finance Department, it regulates and records the expenses it is put to in carrying out all these duties which are so needful for the well-being of the State.

#### 40.

#### THE POST OFFICE.

"Let me hear from thee by letters,
Of thy success in love, and what news else
Betideth here in absence of thy friend;
And I likewise will visit thee with mine."

SHAKSPERE.

HE Post Office of the present day is presided over by the Postmaster-General, who must be a member of Parliament. As a government department, the Post Office dates from the reign of Charles the First, when posts from London to the north, east, and west were established under the charge of a Postmaster-General, and a monopoly of carrying letters was claimed by the Crown.

Until the year 1840, the rates of postage were very high, and varied with the size, shape, and weight of a letter. It is said that the average postage per letter throughout the United Kingdom was sixpence farthing. Members of Parliament had the power of *franking* letters either for themselves or their friends, when they went free of charge; and, thus, those who could least afford to pay had to bear the burden of their own correspondence as well as that of the privileged classes.

All this was changed when the Government, in 1840, adopted the uniform "Penny Postage," as suggested by Sir Rowland Hill, who was afterwards knighted and became Secretary of the Post Office. The history of the Post Office from that day to this is one of constant improvement, extension, and assumption of new duties. Railways, steamships, telegraphs, and telephones have been forced into its service; and it has made itself the banker of the poor and the insurer of their lives.

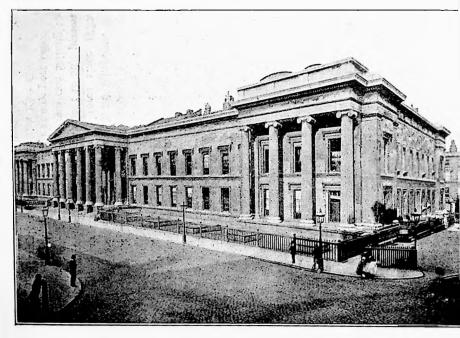
Its first duty, the carriage of *letters*, has increased to a vast extent, as will be seen from the following observations. In 1839, just before the introduction of the Penny Post, the number of letters delivered in the United Kingdom was eighty-two millions; whereas, during the year ending 31st March, 1893, one thousand seven hundred and ninety and a-quarter millions of letters, six hundred and ninety-four and three-quarter millions of newspapers, books, and samples, and two hundred and

forty-four and a-quarter millions of post-cards were delivered in the United Kingdom. In 1839, the number of letters sent per head of the population was three; in 1893, it had increased to forty-seven; and every person in England wrote, on an average, one a-week.

In August, 1883, the Post Office undertook to convey parcels; and now this branch of its work has made such progress that not only can parcels be posted to any part of the United Kingdom, but they can be forwarded to almost every part of the world, except the United States. During the year ending the 31st December, 1892, nearly fifty-two millions of parcels, weighing nearly sixty thousand tons, were delivered by the Post Office.

Telegraphs were first established in the United Kingdom by private companies; but the Government, in 1870, bought them up for nearly eleven millions sterling. This was, no doubt, a heavy price to pay, and much more has been spent on improving and extending the service. At first, no telegram could be sent in the United Kingdom for a less price than one shilling; but now twelve words may be transmitted over the wires for sixpence. During the year ending 31st March, 1893, the number of messages forwarded from telegraph offices in the United Kingdom was nearly seventy millions, or not quite two per head of the population; still, even with that number of messages, the telegraph service does not pay its way.

Having at every post office throughout the country a local agency where money can be received and paid, the Post Office has undertaken the duty of banker for the



THE GENERAL POST OFFICE.

poor. This part of its business was commenced in 1861, and has rapidly increased. On the thirty-first of December, 1892, the number of accounts was nearly five and a-half millions; the capital nearly seventy-six millions sterling, exclusive of over five and a-half millions of government stock invested for depositors.

In 1880, the Post Office instituted a *Penny Stamp Savings Scheme*, so as to enable school children and others to invest in the bank by placing twelve penny stamps on a form provided for that purpose, and handing it in to any post office as a deposit of one shilling.

Small sums of money can be sent most conveniently through the post, either by means of Money Orders or Postal Orders.

Money Orders, which have been in force since 1850, re directions given by a postmaster at one office to the jostmaster of another to pay any sum not exceeding ten pounds to a person named on his advice. This system has been extended to the colonies and many foreign countries. Money Orders, however, cannot be transmitted to Russia, Spain, Argentia, and a few other countries; and, although it is possible to send Money Orders to Chili, none are issued there on the United Kingdom.

Postal Orders have only been in force since 1880. They are general orders for the payment to any person named in the order of sums ranging from one shilling to one pound, and they can be cashed at any post office in the United Kingdom, or at the British Post Office, Constantinople; and in Malta, Gibraltar, India, the Straits Settlements, Hong-Kong, and Newfoundland. Postal

# Postage Stamps for a Deposit of One Shilling in the Post Office Savings Bank.

12 Penny Stamps to be affixed below.

	*		
Office of Issue_			
	Υ.	Dated Stamp of Post Office receiving the Postage Stamps.	
No. of Book			

Orders have, to a great extent, taken the place of Money Orders. The amount of money which circulates in this way is enormous. Thus, in 1892, Money Orders were issued in the United Kingdom for twenty four and a-half millions sterling, and Postal Orders for over twenty-one millions. During that same year, the Post Office issued Money Orders for payment in the Colonies and foreign countries amounting to over a million sterling, and cashed colonial and foreign orders amounting to nearly three millions.

Lastly, the Post Office insures lives for amounts not exceeding one hundred pounds, either by the payment of a lump sum or annual premiums; and it accepts money for the purchase of annuities.

The revenue of this great government department in 393 was nearly thirteen millions, and the expenditure rearly ten millions, leaving a net profit of just over three millions sterling.

#### 41.

## THE COLONIAL, INDIA, AND FOREIGN OFFICES.

"The French Ambassador upon that instant Crav'd audience; and the hour, I think, is come To give him hearing."

SHAKSPERE.

LL British Colonics and Dependencies may be divided into three classes: they are either Crown Colonies, in which the work of administration is carried on by public officers

under the control of the Home Government, such as

Gibraltar, Aden, India, the Straits Settlements, Hong-Kong, Labuan, the West African Settlements, Trinidad, British Honduras, British New Guinea, Fiji, the Falkland Islands, and some others; or

Colonies enjoying representative, but not responsible, government, such as Malta, Ccylon, the Bahamas, Barbados, and a few other Colonies. In these the Crown does not legislate, but exercises a veto on legislation, and the Home Government appoints and controls the public officers; or

Colonics enjoying responsible government, in which the Crown appoints the Governors, and has a right to veto any Act passed by the Colonial Parliaments, such as Cape Colony, Natal, the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland, and the seven chief Australasian Colonies; or

Protectorates, in which the Home Government maintains residents, such as Sarawak, North Borneo, Brunei, Cyprus, the Malacca States, Central Africa, and Cook's Islands Confederation.

For all these, with the one exception of our empire in India, the *Colonial Office* is responsible. The principal Secretary of State for this department is usually a peer with a seat in the House of Lords; but when this is so, one of the under-secretaries must sit in the Commons.

The person responsible to Parliament for the government of our great empire in the East is the principal Secretary of State for India, who is at the head of the *India Office*. He must be prepared to defend his action in Parliament when it is brought in question; so that when the chief secretary sits in the Upper House, one

of the under-secretaries must be a member of the House of Commons.

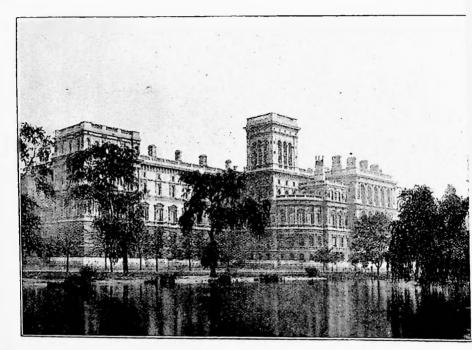
The Secretaries of State for India are assisted by a Supreme Council, consisting of fifteen members appointed for life, none of whom sit in either House of Parliament.

"The House of Commons is so overwhelmed with business nearer home that it has no opportunity of making itself acquainted with all those vast fields of knowledge that will enable it to exercise an efficient influence over the Secretary of State for India. Therefore it has introduced this Council to be its deputy, as it were, to watch him, and see that the powers placed in his hands are not abused. It ought, however, to be clearly understood that the moment the House steps in the jurisdiction of the Council ought to cease."

The powers of the India Office are very extensive The whole of the revenues of that immense empire are at its disposal; but it must make known to Parliament all moneys expended, and it may not increase the debt of India without the sanction of the House of Commons.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, or, as he is generally called, the Foreign Secretary, presides at the Foreign Office. His duties are of the utmost importance to the welfare of the Empire, as he has to conduct those delicate negotiations between the Home Government and those of other nations. Of course, in affairs of great importance, the general line of policy to be pursued is dictated by the whole Cabinet; but, even then, the Foreign Secretary is left to carry out those plans.

It is the duty of the Foreign Secretary to afford



THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

proper protection to British subjects abroad. He has to consider their complaints, redress their injuries, and obtain compensation for any injuries they may sustain from foreigners. This can be no sinecure, when we consider that British subjects are to be found in every land on the face of the earth, and that British merchantships visit every port.

The Foreign Secretary also selects the Ambassadors and Consuls who represent the British Crown all over the world, and to him falls the duty of seeing that their privileges are not infringed. Perhaps it will be well to state here that Ambassadors are officers sent by one nation to another furnished with authority to transact affairs of State; and that Consuls are officers appointed by one State to reside in another to safeguard the interests of such of their countrymen who may be travelling, trading, or residing in that foreign land. The most important duties of Consuls are those connected with trade.

#### 42.

#### THE WAR OFFICE AND ADMIRALTY.

" War is honourable
In those who do their native rights maintain."
JOANNA BAILLIE.

HE Secretary of State for War, who presides at the War Office, is, as a rule, a civilian who has a seat in the House of Commons, whilst his under-secretary is usually selected from the House of Lords, and is, or has been, a military man.



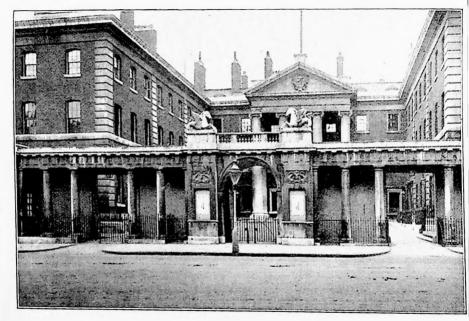
THE WAR OFFICE.

The Bill of Rights declares that "the raising or keeping a standing army in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of Parliament, is against law;" and, as we have already seen, this consent is never given for a longer period than twelve months. Every year Parliament passes a Mutiny Act, which declares that "it is adjudged necessary by Her Majesty and this present Parliament that a body of forces should be continued for the safety of the United Kingdom, the defence of the possessions of Her Majesty's Crown, and the preservation of the balance of power in Europe." Then the Act goes on to state that the said force shall consist of a certain number of men.

Now, as Parliament creates the army, Parliament must control the army; and, hence, the Minister who presides over the army must have a seat in the House of Commons. The authority of the Secretary for War is strictly limited. The appointment of the general officer to take command of our forces in time of war is the work of the whole Cabinet; and, not only is this the case, but the number of troops to be despatched to the seat of war is also decided by the Cabinet.

The control over army expenditure, like other financial arrangements, is in the hands of the Treasury.

Until the appointment of Sir Thomas Beaufort to the office of Lord High Admiral in 1408, the command of the Sovereign's vessels of war had not been entrusted to one individual. Indeed, before that date there was no organised fleet for purposes of war. The Cinque Ports had charge of the narrow seas, and, beyond those limits,



THE ADMIRALTY.

fleets were collected and manned as occasion might require. Not until we come to Tudor times do we find the Navy existing as a permanent force belonging to and governed by the Crown through the Lord High Admiral. In the reign of Charles I, this important office of Lord High Admiral was first put into commission—that is, it was made exercisable by several great officers of State, appointed by letters patent under the Great Seal, and acting in concert. From time to time, individual Lord High Admirals were appointed; but, since 1708, the office has been in commission as at the present day, except when, for a short time, the Duke of Clarence (afterwards William IV.) held the post.

At first, the Admiralty Board, as the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty are styled, was assisted in its control of the naval forces by subsidiary boards, called the Navy and Victualling Boards and Naval Treasury Office; but, since 1832, the entire business of the Navy has been conducted under the supervision of the Admiralty Board.

As at present constituted, the Admiralty Board consists of a First Lord—usually a civilian politician—four Naval Lords, a Civil Lord, a Financial and Parliamentary Secretary, appointed by the Board, who changes with the Government; and a Permanent Secretary, who retains his office independent of party political changes.

The First Lord is a Cabinet Minister, and he is responsible to the Sovereign and to Parliament for all the business of the Admiralty, the other members of INFANTRY



· LINE ·

· GUARDS ·

· ARTILLERY ·

the Board being, in their turn, responsible to him for the business assigned to their respective departments.

The First Naval Lord has control of the appointments and promotions of superior officers, and of the movements and stations of the fleet—including coaling—and, generally, of maritime defence. The three other Naval Lords assist him in these matters in detail, and they have also their respective departments to attend to. Thus, the Second Naval Lord considers the appointments of junior officers; the Third Naval Lord has certain civil questions under his control; the Fourth Naval Lord is also Controller of the Navy, and, as such, has charge of Naval construction, dockyards, ordnance, torpedoes, engineer's work, and stores. The Civil Lord attends to works and the personnel of the Civil Department, and the Financial Secretary has charge of all finance questions.

The Board meets once a-week, or oftener, if need be, to consider important questions requiring a collective opinion. To it is entrusted the whole policy of governing the Navy, the Coast-guard, the Marines, and the Naval Reserve. It also has to control the Medical Department, certain harbours, and certain maritime and scientific enquiries. There are many sub-departments connected with Naval matters which are responsible to the Board of Admiralty.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Royal Marines were raised in 1755.

43.

#### THE ARMY.

"War is honourable
In those who do their native rights maintain;
In those whose swords an iron barrier are
Between the lawless spoiler and the weak."

JOANNA BAILLIE.

HE existence of an army in a civilised country is justified in a twofold manner, as it enforces respect from foreign powers and protects its own country from aggression; it also provides

the Executive Government with the force which is the backbone of all law, without which the law might be defied with success,

Without discipline, an army would be a mob, or, at most, an armed rabble; and discipline is that intelligent obedience to authority that forms a body acting in unison, and therefore a real power; for discipline creates and preserves the order necessary for mutual action.

Military law is necessary to ensure discipline, and it is the law that governs a soldier at all times, in peace and war, and in all places at home and abroad; a soldier as such is subject to military law, while, at the same time, as a citizen, he is also subject to the civil law of England.

Military law is to be distinguished from martial law, which is unknown in English law; for, in England, rioters and insurgents are subject only to civil law, the possi-

bility of civil war not having been provided for. Martial law, when proclaimed in a district, subjects all persons to military tribunals.

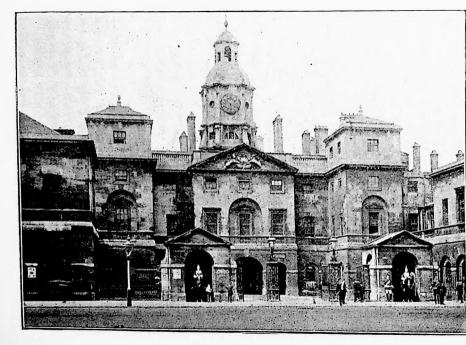
Military law is set forth in the Army Act, which is a part of the statute law of England, administered, however, by military courts and not by civil judges. Of itself the Army Act has no force. It has annually to be brought into operation by an Act of Parliament, and thus, though the soldier is the servant of the Crown, the continuance of the army is by vote of Parliament—that is, by the will of the people.

A man who becomes a soldier does not cease to be citizen, and he can be tried and punished as if he were a civilian. His civil rights and duties are, however, subject to certain limitations to enable him to fulfil his engagement to serve the Crown. Thus, he is exempt from tolls when on duty, from serving on juries, and from arrest or appearing before a court on account of debts below £30.

The Sovereign is the head of the Army. Its executive government is centred at the War Office, and is committed to the Secretary of State for War. The administration is divided into two branches—the Financial Department, with its Financial Secretary, and the Military Department, under the Commander-in-Chief.

The Army consists of the Regular Forces, including the Honourable Artillery Company, the Army Reserve, and the Auxiliary Forces, which comprise the Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteers.

The Regular Army consists of Cavalry, Artillery,



THE HORSE GUARDS.

Engineers, Infantry, and the Army Service Corps, with the general staff and the several departments of the Army, numbering about one hundred and fifty thousand for home and Colonial service, and seventy-five thousand for service in India.

The Army Reserve is formed of men who have served for some years in the regular forces, and who are liable to be recalled for service. It numbers nearly seventy-eight thousand; so that the Regular Forces, including Army Reserve, number over three hundred nousand men. These are all subject to the Army Act.

The Auxiliary Forces number over three hundred and fifty thousand, so that the British Army consists of more than six hundred and fifty thousand men, without counting the native forces in India, or the Colonial Militia.

The first duty of a soldier is obedience to a lawful command, and he has to conduct himself with greater circumspection than a civilian; as disobedience of orders, absence from duty, or desertion, which, in civil life, are mere breaches of contract, are, by the Army Act, treated as crimes with penalties attached, otherwise discipline would be impossible.

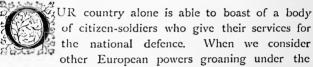
Armies, as withdrawing large numbers of men from trade and work during the best period of their lives, are to be regarded, in the present state of nations, as but necessary evils; but their existence may avert war, and thus prevent the far greater evil of an enemy's occupation of the country, which would entail much loss of life, destruction of valuable property and harassing imposts and taxes to defray the cost of the hostile operations.

#### 44.

#### THE VOLUNTEERS.

"Where'er our country calls,
Friends, sons, and sires, should yield their treasure up,
Nor own a sense beyond the public safety."

Brooke.



hardships of conscription, and of the heavy taxes to support huge armies, we have indeed cause to be thankful that the patriotism of Englishmen has averted the one evil from these shores, and has considerably reduced the other. Well did Lord Brougham describe our Volunteer Force as "a system of national insurance." We might also add that, apart from its primary purpose, the volunteer system improves the health and well-being of our young men, and it teaches them invaluable lessons of order and obedience.

Societies to promote the great object of national defence existed so long ago as the reign of Henry VIII. That king granted a charter in 1537 to the "Fraternity or Guyld of St. George: Maisters and Rulars of the Science of Artillary: For Long-bowes and Cros-bowes and Hand-gones." This ancient volunteer corps still exists as the *Honourable Artillery Company*, and, by the Queen's Regulations, it has "precedence in consideration of its antiquity next after the Regular

Forces, and before the Militia, Yeomanry, and all other Volunteers."

When Napoleon threatened our shores with invasion, volunteers to the number of four hundred and twenty-nine thousand men were enrolled. After the great peace, however, all these troops were disbanded, except the Yeomanry, or Volunteer Cavalry, which remains to this day.

In 1846, England was again threatened from the French shores, and a pamphlet by Sir Charles Napier pointed out to our countrymen how small were the national powers of resistance.

On the 12th of May, 1859, the War Secretary sent a circular letter to all Lords-Licutenant of counties authorising the formation of volunteer corps under the old statutes, with the result that, in 1859-60, nearly one hundred and twenty thousand men were enrolled. These old statutes were soon found insufficient for modern needs; and, accordingly, the important Volunteer Act of 1863 was passed, an Act which regulates the existence and control of the force, and empowers the Sovereign to call it out for active service in Great Britain upon danger of an invasion.

Such, then, is the history of a movement of which we, as citizens of the Empire, have every reason to be proud. Our citizen soldiers have shown, year by year, increased numbers and greater efficiency, till they now number nearly two hundred and seventy-eight thousand men. There are also about eleven thousand yeomanry.

The yeomanry "effectives" were put at 10,768 men

for 1892-93. These cavalry soldiers are provided by Government with arms and ammunition and an allowance towards keeping a horse. They receive six days' training



Cyclist. H.A.C. (Field Battery.)

Artists.

Ambulance.

London Scottish.

London Rifles.

GROUP OF VOLUNTEERS.

in each year, being paid seven shillings a-day during that period, and being then liable to military law. Their cost to the country is put at £74,410.

The other volunteer forces numbered 222,046 "effectives" for the same year, of whom 214,460 received a "capitation grant," or Government allowance, of thirty-five shillings; many others received smaller amounts; and, in some cases, special allowances for proficiency in mining, tactics, and other military subjects. These capitation allowances, with other expenses connected with the force, make up a Government expenditure of £780,900 for 1892-93, exclusive of the sum already mentioned as the cost of the yeomanry. 1

Every volunteer officer and soldier is required to take an oath of allegiance to the Sovereign before receiving his commission or being enrolled. The oath is prescribed by the Act of 1863 above-noticed, and it runs as follows:—

"I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and that I will faithfully serve Her Majesty in Great Britain for the defence of the same against all her enemies and opposers whatsoever, according to the conditions of my service."

By the Queen's Regulations, all officers of the Hon. Artillery Company, Yeomanry Cavalry, and Volunteers rank with regular officers as juniors of their respective ranks. They are entitled to the same compliments from sentries and guards as their brothers of the regular forces.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These expenses are charged to capitations, pay, instruction, camps, and miscellaneous charges. Recent statutes have been passed which facilitate the acquisition by volunteers of land for firing and drilling purposes.

45.

#### THE NAVY.

"Her dauntless army scatter'd, and so small,
Her island-myriads fed from alien lands—
The fleet of England is her all-in-all;
Her fleet is in your hands,
And in her fleet her Fate.

"You, you, that have the ordering of her fleet,
If you should only compass her disgrace,
When all men starve, the wild mob's million feet
Will kick you from your place—
But then too late, too late."

TENNYSON.

LTHOUGH in a general way our countrymen have always felt that the Royal Navy—"The Senior Service"—was Great Britain's first line of desence, and that the power, prosperity, and

renown of the country depended mainly upon the strength and efficiency of the Navy, it is only quite recently that the overwhelming importance of sea power to our national existence has been revealed to the inhabitants of these islands. Up to the close of our great wars with France, England was self-supporting; and, had she even lost her commerce and the support of her colonies, she still need not have bowed altogether before her conquerors. Now, however, this is all changed. The teeming millions of her inhabitants would be starved into a speedy submission if, even for a short period, her coasts were

blockaded and her commerce intercepted. We must feel, therefore, that every Englishman should resolve that, at whatever cost, the supremacy of the Navy over all foreign maritime forces should be maintained.

It would occupy too much space to consider the remote origin in King Alfred's time and the subsequent glorious history of the Royal Navy. It is a history not only glorious in warlike achievements, and in the protection of our mercantile marine and commerce, but full likewise of many important scientific contributions to the knowledge of mankind.

To take the Navy as it exists at the present day, we find that it consists, with the Royal Marines¹ and Coastguard, of a force of about seventy-four thousand men. There are about sixty-five ironclad or "armoured" battleships, thirty protected vessels, nearly three hundred unprotected craft of various descriptions. These ships may be roughly divided into battleships, cruisers, gunboats, torpedo-catchers and torpedo-boats, training and troop-ships, and miscellaneous craft of all sorts. In addition to this force, there are also many swift steamers belonging to the great ocean steamship companies which, on payment of annual subsidies, are held at the disposal of the Admiralty as reserved merchant-cruisers in the event of war. In Australian waters there is also an additional naval force of seven vessels.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>A most useful branch of the service under the control of the Admiralty. It consists of artillery and infantry soldiers, trained for service on sea and land. The Royal Marines number nearly 15,000 men.

The total cost of the Navy for the financial year 1892-3 was estimated at close upon fifteen and a-half million pounds. Boys intended for service in the Navy are trained in ships specially set apart for that purpose; naval cadets learn their profession on board H.M.S. Britannia; engineers, medical, and other non-combatant officers also receive a particular education to fit them for their respective duties. The discipline of all these naval forces is provided for by the "Naval Discipline Act, 1866."

The cause which led to the establishment of the Naval Reserve force in 1859 was the feeling that the old system of forcibly impressing sailors to serve in time of war could never be resorted to again. The force is under the control of the Admiralty, and it consists of an Admiral Superintendent, and about twenty-four thousand officers and men. These are drawn for the most part from the mercantile marine and seafaring classes; and, in return for the liability for annual drill and active service in war-time, they receive a bounty and an annual payment. For the purpose of training the force in the use of the complex instruments of modern warfare, drill ships, commanded by experienced officers of the Navy, are established at many of our principal ports.

The Coastguards form a force originally raised to protect the revenue of the country, and to prevent smuggling. In 1856, however, it passed under the control of the Admiralty, with an admiral at its head. The coasts of these islands are divided into nine Coastguard

Districts under the command of captains; and at each district a powerful ironclad is stationed, so that, in the event of an emergency, the entire force of coastguards, who are trained, experienced naval men, can at once be embarked and employed upon active service. Cruisers or gunboats are usually attached to each district, and subordinate officers have charge of sub-districts. In time of peace this force guards the coast, prevents smuggling, and frequently assists in lifeboat and rocket service. In each year, also, the coastguards are embarked for about six weeks' training, so that they are in a fit condition for war service.

The safety, honour, and existence of our country depend so much upon our sailors and soldiers, who are also our fellow-citizens, that it is of the utmost importance they should keep their duties and responsibilities clearly before them. A man who really does his duty must necessarily be one who feels his responsibilities, and we may therefore sum up all that the country expects of her armed forces in the memorable signal which Admiral Lord Nelson made to the fleet before engaging in the Battle of Trafalgar:—

### " England expects that every man will do his duty!"

No Englishman is now obliged to be a sailor or a soldier unless he pleases; but, when once he has undertaken the sacred charge of protecting his country and his fellow-citizens from foes, he must yield with a good will to all discipline, set a good example to his fellows, and be prepared, if need be, to sacrifice his life for the common good.

Perhaps of all earthly evils war is the most terrible one. We should remember this—its desolation, misery, and ruinous effect—when we are tempted to be led away for the moment by the "pomp and circumstance." The time to think of what war really means is not before a battle, when army drawn up in splendid array faces army, or when some stately ship is steaming into action:—

"Her ports all up, her battle-lanterns lit,

And her leashed thunders gathering for their leap!"1

We should think rather of the sickening, awful battle-field after the fight; of the ruined sinking hull, full of the dead and the dying, after the engagement; of the misery and desolation at home. Every honest citizen will remember these things, and the ruin of property and the terrible cost which a war means, and he will earnestly desire the time to come when men will settle their disputes by the pen rather than by the sword.

Perhaps we shall never be so fortunate as to have a universal substitute for war; but, as education extends its influence, and as men come to realise how intolerable war is, we may at least hope that in all questions not involving the actual existence and safety of a State, the dispute may be amicably decided by Arbitration. Civilised nations have already occasionally submitted their differences to the decision of disinterested parties, such as the Sovereigns of other States, or private persons chosen by mutual agreement. About twenty of these inter-

<sup>1</sup> James Russell Lowell,

national arbitrations have taken place in the present century, this country and the United States being the litigating parties upon the two most important occasions. The first of these occasions was in 1872, when five arbitrators, nominated by England, the United States, the Swiss Republic, the King of Italy, and the Emperor of Brazil, decided that this country must compensate the United States for negligence in permitting a privateer called "The Alabama" to prey upon American commerce. The second occasion was the recent arbitration held in Paris, which settled many disputed questions between England and the United States relative to the seal fishery in the Behring Sea. Hitherto, arbitrations have not been very numerous, but we may sincerely hope that such peaceful substitutes for war will become far more common in the future

## 46.

# THE COUNTRY'S YEARLY BILL.

"And for our coffers are grown somewhat light,
We are enforced to farm our royal realm;
The revenues whereof shall furnish us
For our affairs in hand."

SHAKSPERE.

ET us now see how the national revenue to provide for national expenditure is actually raised. The average expenditure of the last few years in round figures amounts to about ninety millions a-year, of which thirty millions are for the interest on the National Debt and Sinking Fund; another



THE TREASURY.

thirty millions go for naval and military defence; twenty millions are spent in civil administration; and ten millions for expenses of collecting the revenue.

This is met by Post Office profits, amounting to about ten millions; and other receipts, which are not taxation, of about five millions, leaving seventy-five millions to be raised by taxes. Of this amount, Customs realise about twenty millions; Excise over twenty millions; Stamps and Taxes, including probate, succession duties, land tax, and house duty, raise about sixteen millions; whilst the Income Tax represents nearly fourteen millions more.

On looking more closely into these amounts, we find that the non-propertied classes, who have to work for a living, contribute—mainly in customs and excise duties—about forty-four millions of this amount; the propertied classes pay in the form of probate and succession duties, for deeds and assessed taxes, about twenty-seven millions; and about half of the Income Tax is also paid by them, whilst the other half falls on the shoulders of the professional class.

From this brief analysis, it seems that Imperial taxation presses most heavily on those who have to work for a living; the propertied class should pay a larger proportion if they are to bear their fair share of the burden.

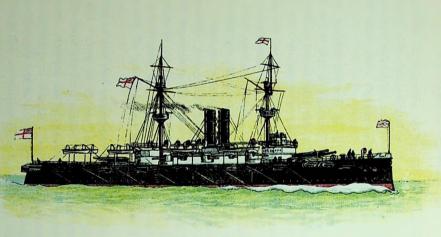
The *Tea Duty* ought to be abolished, for it discourages temperance; it restricts the development of an important industry in our Indian Empire and our Crown Colony of Ceylon; and it presses unduly on the female half of the population.

The *Income Tax* should be reformed so as to make uncarned incomes pay at a higher rate; this would do much to remove the discontent with the tax among small shopkeepers and professional men with limited incomes.

The arrangement of these matters, subject to the consent of the House of Commons, is left in the hands of the *Treasury*, which is under the control of the First Lord of the Treasury, who is generally the Prime Minister, but who leaves the preparation of the annual "Budget" to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who really presides over the Treasury, and whose chief duty is to take charge of the country's Yearly Bill in its annual passage through the House of Commons.

Shortly after the meeting of Parliament, estimates of the cost of carrying on the work of government for the coming year are prepared by the ministers in charge of the army, navy, and civil services, and presented to the House of Commons on the responsibility of the whole Cabinet.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has now to consider in what way these expenses are to be met. His first step towards this end is to obtain from the head officials of the revenue their estimates of the country's income if taxation remains unchanged. Should it appear probable that this income will be in excess of the expenditure, he has to make a choice of what impost he will remit; on the other hand, if it seems probable that the expenditure will be greater than the income, he has to decide what new tax shall be imposed or what old tax augmented.



H M S. ROYAL SOVEREIGN

The simplest way out of this difficulty, and the one oft-times adopted, is to increase the income-tax, as the amount raised by adding one penny in the pound can be closely estimated. Besides, the great mass of the public never complain of its being too heavy; the tax does not reach them. It scarcely touches the wage-carning classes, and but few artisans, whatever their incomes, contribute to it at all.

Having been approved by the Cabinet, the Budget is submitted to the House of Commons, and, if accepted there, is passed on to the Lords, and receives the assent of the Crown in the usual way.

The Appropriation Act, which is passed annually, ensures that the sums of money to be raised by taxation shall not be applied to any other purpose than those mentioned in the Estimates.

## PART III .- THE EMPIRE.

47.

## A GENERAL VIEW.

"To all the loyal hearts who long
To keep our English Empire whole!
To all our noble sons, the strong
New England of the Southern Pole!
To England under Indian skies,
To those dark millions of her realm!
To Canada whom we love and prize,
Whatever statesman hold the helm.
Hands all round.

"To all our statesmen so they be
True leaders of the land's desire!
To both our Houses, may they see
Beyond the borough and the shire!
We sail'd wherever ship could sail,
We founded many a mighty state;
Pray God our greatness may not fail
Thro' craven fears of being great.
Hands all round."

TENNYSON.



E must now devote some attention to our great "empire on which the sun never sets," and "whose morning drum-beat encircles the globe."

"If we look at the map of the world and note the geographical distribution of the British Empire, we may be able to realise the force of the saying that the Queen reigns over a realm on which the sun never sets.

"Whilst the great live-giver is still blazing over *India*, he is high in the heavens of *Aden*, *Cyprus*, *Malta*, and our possessions in *South* and *East Africa*; and his early beams are rousing to a fresh day's work the people of the Mother Country, their fellow-citizens in *West Africa*, the tiny islets of the Atlantic, and *Gibraltar*.

"As he rises in the heavens his rays begin their march across our great *Dominion of Canada*, spreading their genial influence southwards to the *West Indies* and *British Guiana*, and, still further south, to the remote Falklands

"One after another the ever-welcome light bathes in glory the many island groups and islet gems that fringe our Empire on the broad bosom of the Pacific. Anon it reaches Fiji and New Zealand, and breaks upon the coast of the great continents of Australia and New Guinea.

"An hour or two later, his majesty looks across the horizon on North Borneo, the Straits Settlements, Hong-Kong, and Burma; and, ere his day's work is done, he may have even a smile to spare for the lonely Keelings, and their far-away neighbours, St. Paul and Amsterdam.

"Including every scrap of land over which we have any claim—the Mother Country, India, and her feudatory states, the Colonies, great and small, protectorates and spheres of influence—the area of the British Empire is probably not less than ten millions of square miles; that is to say, very nearly one-fifth of the whole land area of the globe.

"It is nearly three times the size of Europe; one-and-a-half million square miles larger than the whole of the Russian Empire in Europe and Asia; ten times the size of the German Empire at home and abroad; eight millions of square miles more than the whole of the French Dominions, even including Madagascar; and just about a million less than the area of Africa.

"On this immense area there live and work something like three hundred and fifty millions of people, embracing almost every type of humanity under the sun; about the same population as that of all Europe; double that of Africa; about three times that of the Russian Empire and of the whole of America; and five times

the population of France and all her possessions. Of the total population of the globe, about one-fourth or one-fifth are our fellow-citizens.

"But the British Empire is scattered. It lacks the compactness of the Russian Empire and of the United States. We find fragments of it in all latitudes and longitudes; and whatever it may be politically, it is good for us commercially that it is so. But it is so because we are what we are, and what the geographical position of our islands has made us; and it has enabled us, nay, forced us, to become the greatest political power on earth.

"The relative importance of the mother country, so far as size and population are concerned, compared with the rest of the Empire, may be seen from the fact that of the ten millions of square miles only one hundred and twenty-one thousand belong to the United Kingdom; that is, the mother country is only one eighty-second of the whole Empire. Her population to-day is close on thirty-eight millions, or just about one-eighth part of the whole of her Majesty's subjects."

The various members of this vast Empire may be classed, for purposes of consideration, under three heads. There is the *Empire of India*, which is altogether an exceptional possession; there are the *Colonies*, mainly peopled by Englishmen, which enjoy practical independence under the system of Responsible Government, but which still remain British dependencies, and their citizens are British subjects equally with the inhabitants of the British Isles; and there are the Crown Colonies,

inhabited by few Englishmen and many coloured races, which are ruled from the Colonial Office.

Australia and Canada are good examples of Colonies having Responsible Government, whilst Ceylon is our largest Crown Colony.

In addition to the above, there are many British *Protectorates* scattered over the face of the globe, they being portions of the Empire in which we maintain residents to foster British interests and develop the resources of the countries.

#### 48.

# OUR INDIAN EMPIRE.

"Those three hundred millions under one Imperial sceptre."

TENNYSON.

HE Queen of England is, by right of her English Crown and by Act of an English Parliament, Empress of India. Natives of India, when they happen to sojourn in this

country, are not aliens; they may even be registered as Parliamentary electors; and one has been returned as a member of the House of Commons. But although they share in one great empire, we all know that England is the mistress, India the subject land.

India, with its one-and-a-half millions of square miles and its three hundred millions of people, must always be regarded as an empire in itself, held by England for the good of the Indians. Until the land was united under British rule, India had never been one country, nor had its peoples ever been united under one rule.

Physically, the Empire of India must be split up into four great divisions. Along its northern confines rise range above range of mountains which include the highest peaks in the world. In the lofty valleys which intersect these ranges dwell many tribes who have repeatedly invaded India, but who form no part of the Indian people.

The true India, the *Hindustan* of the Persians, the seat of the densest population and greatest wealth of the Peninsula, consists of a long level plain watered by those two mighty rivers the Ganges and Indus. Whoever holds this great plain, which stretches from Peshawar to Calcutta, is master of the entire Peninsula.

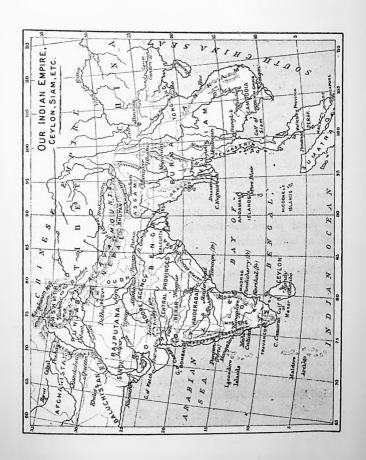
Southward from this great plain rises a hilly table-land, interspersed with jungle, imperfectly watered, and inhabited by several races; this is the *Deccan*, or "the South," which may be said to extend from the right bank of the Ganges to Cape Comorin.

To the east of the Peninsula of India lies the province of *Burma*, which has no share in the history of India proper, nor are its people of the same race.

The great plain of India proper extends from the sandy wastes of Sindh to the alluvial flats of Lower Bengal, and is divided into three parts.

The *Punjab*, which includes the basin of the Indus, is a great corn-growing tract, with a deficient rainfall, where irrigation is practised on a large scale by some of the finest races to be found in the East, and where most of the people are Mahommedans.

The North-West Provinces and Oudh, which lie to



the east of the Punjab, are more densely peopled, chiefly with Hindus. Here, also, wheat is cultivated largely; but rice, millets, and other crops are also grown. In the North-West provinces are situated the historic cities of India—Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Allahabad, and Benares. Irrigation has been introduced by English engineers, and some of the finest crops in the world are raised, leaving a considerable quantity for export.

Eastward, again, lies *Bengal*, the garden of India, with a more liberal rainfall, and a greater variety of crops; and here rice is the great staple.

The *Deccan* region suffers from its slight rainfall; it is here that millets of various kinds and other minute grains are grown. The people, too, are unlike those of the great plains, for they are hunters and foresters as well as agriculturists.

Burma, the latest addition to our Indian Empire, stretches away to the frontiers of China. The Burmese are an attractive people; they are Buddhists, and their land is the most prolific rice-field in the world.

This great empire was won to England by the sword, and it is, to this day, governed by Englishmen. Politically we may divide the whole empire into two parts, termed British territory and native states, the former of which is ruled directly by English officials. The native states are often called feudatory, and they are governed by their own princes.

Roughly speaking, five-eighths of the area of India, excluding Burma, is British territory, the remaining three-eighths being comprised in the feudatory states; but the British territory supports seven-tenths of the population.

In connection with the feudatory states, we must mention that the native chiefs have no power to make war or peace; that they may neither send ambassadors





NATIVES OF SOUTH DECCAN AND INDO-CHINA.

to one another nor to other countries; that they are only permitted to maintain military forces of a certain strength; that no European is allowed to reside in their territories without permission; and, lastly, that they must not govern badly under penalty of dethronement.

#### 49.

# GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

"The English traveller in India soon finds out the persistent and irresistible prestige of his own race. He finds scattered up and down the Peninsula little handfuls of Englishmen, who hold the great fabric of our empire together by the integrity with which they carry on, in a just and sympathetic spirit, the administration of the country."

HOLDEN.

The British government of India is the most gigantic task that a nation ever attempted. The word adminis-

tration, when applied to India, means that a handful of Englishmen conduct the whole work of public life for a population numbering two-and-a-quarter millions. There are few Indian citizens who share in the public duties; all the work of government that we do for ourselves here, ay, and much more too, is performed for the Indians by an alien race.

India is governed in the name of the Empress through one of the Secretaries of State, assisted by an under-secretary and a council. The Secretary of State for India is a Cabinet Minister, who must have a seat in one of the Houses of Parliament, whilst his under-secretary must sit in the other. The Indian Budget is submitted to the House of Commons each year, so that the authority of the English Parliament as the supreme ruling power in India is duly recognised.

The Viceroy or Governor-General of India, who represents the Queen in that far-off empire, is appointed by the Prime Minister. He is assisted by two councils, and every official act of his runs in the style of the "Governor-General in Council"; still, in spite of all this, he is an autocrat; and, "in cases of emergency," he may over-rule his council, and act independently of them.

The Executive Council of India is composed of six members and the Commander-in-Chief, all of whom are appointed by the Secretary of State; whilst the Legislative Council contains, in addition to the above, from six to twelve members appointed by the Viceroy.

The Governors of Madras and Bombay have each two councils of their own; the Lieutenant-Governor of

Bengal has a legislative council only; but the other provincial governors have no councils.

The judicial authority in India is quite distinct from the executive; Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Allahabad have each a High Court, presided over by a Chief Justice, and the appeal from these tribunals lies with the Judicial Committee of the English Privy Council. The Punjab has also a chief court, but the highest officers of justice in the other provinces are the Chief Commissioners.

British India consists of *eight provinces*, two of which—Madras and Bombay—are under Governors; three—Bengal, the North-West Provinces and Oudh, and the Punjab—are under Lieutenant-Governors; the three remaining—namely, the Central Provinces, Assam, and Burma—are under Chief Commissioners. In addition, Ajmere, Berar, Coorg, and the Andaman Isles, are under the direct rule of the Viceroy.

The annual revenue of British India amounts to about eighty millions. Of this amount, more than one-third is raised by the land-tax, about one-sixth from the tax on opium, and about one-eighth from that on salt. The income from public works and services, such as railways, irrigation works, and the post-office, produces another eighth, leaving about twenty millions to be raised by taxation, such as excise duties, levied upon spirits; customs duties, consisting of an export duty on rice, and an import duty on European liquors and metals; stamps, and a license tax on traders.

The heaviest branch of expenditure is that for the army, which exhausts about one-fourth of the revenue;

the interest of the debt amounts to seven millions, and another five are annually spent on public works.

India contributes considerably to the trade of the United Kingdom. About five-sixths of her imports of merchandise come from us, whilst of her own produce about three-eighths reach the United Kingdom. Of cotton goods alone, India takes from us about eighteen million pounds' worth annually.

The English who engage in industries there are mostly merchants, tea-planters, indigo-growers, and manufacturers, whilst many rich natives are engaged in similar occupations.

The people work for themselves, assured of peace, protection, and the fruits of their industry, under our firm and just rule.

#### 50.

# THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

"There are other Englands besides the old one, where the race is thriving with all its ancient characteristics."

FROUDE.

HE Colonies of Great Britain which we have now to consider, unlike the Indian Empire, enjoy practical independence under the system of "responsible government;" but they still remain British dependencies, and their citizens are British subjects as much as we, the inhabitants of the

British Isles.

The English and French, in the seventeenth and

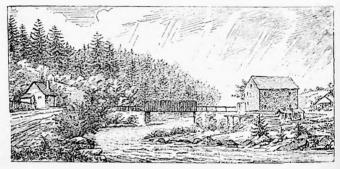
eighteenth centuries, saw in the northern parts of America immense tracts of virgin forests possessing a soil and enjoying a climate not very unlike Western Europe. On the shores of these great tracts they settled; not to search for gold and silver, like the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru; nor to cultivate sugar, coffee, and tobacco, like the Portuguese in Brazil, and their fellow-countrymen in the West Indies and Virginia; but to live, as they had lived at home, by agriculture and commerce. Hence, the English settlements north of Virginia, which obtained the name of New England, and the French settlements on the river St. Lawrence, which acquired the name of New France, were established. These New England colonies were lost to Old England chiefly through the obstinacy of a bigoted king and a short-sighted ministry.

Meanwhile, however, the powerful fleet which England had raised to protect her colonies from France had not only proved itself equal to so doing, but was strong enough to wrest those of France from her. During the War of the Spanish Succession, the British fleet seized Nova Scotia; and, in the Seven Years' War, it forced the mouth of the St. Lawrence, seized Canada, New Brunswick, Prince Edwara's Island, and drove the French out of the West Indies.

The growth of the *Dominion of Canada* from an unimportant settlement of about sixty thousand French peasants on the banks of the river St. Lawrence to a confederation of states with a population of five millions is owing to the same cause that has made the New

England colonies a great nation with over sixty millions of people, mostly British. The temperate latitudes of North America are the natural emigration fields for Western Europe.

To retain the Canadians loyal to the British Crown it was found necessary to give them a free government. This was done gradually, till, in 1840, the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, now known as *Ontario* 



IN ACADIA (NOVA SCOTIA).

and *Quebec*, were united under a single Governor, and a parliament of two chambers elected by the people. Thus, Canada was the first British colony to obtain the privilege of "Responsible Government," giving its inhabitants the same political rights as Englishmen enjoy at home.

After the establishment of responsible government, the separate British colonies in North America imitated the United States, and formed a Federation for their common benefit. The two provinces of Canada proper—Quebec

and Ontario—with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, were the first to federate; but, since that time, Prince Edward's Island, British Columbia, Vancouver Island, and Manitoba have joined the Dominion, thus rendering possible the construction of a railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Newfoundland still remains outside the Federation, as from her isolated position she has nothing to gain by joining the Dominion, and would be a loser by having to pay the Federal taxes.

A large slice of Canada stretches beyond the Arctic circle; and, although men may hunt and fish there, they can never settle permanently. Again, the great peninsula of Labrador, partly belonging to Canada and partly to Newfoundland—the oldest British colony—is, much of it, quite unsuitable for permanent occupation by British colonists; and this is also the case with much of the country around Hudson Bay; but, as we go westward in the Dominion, the country becomes habitable further and further north. In short, Manitoba and the country to the west is capable of culture quite as far north as in Europe. Moreover, this region is fairly rich in minerals and rock oil; happily, too, coal exists both in British Columbia and Nova Scotia.

Canada has made wonderful advances in means of communication. A railway traverses the whole country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the passes of the Rocky Mountains having been overcome by splendid feats of engineering. Branches from this main artery are being thrown out north and south. By means of the Canadian Pacific Kailway, too, Great Britain is brought a thou-

sand miles nearer to Japan and the East; and, for many reasons, we cannot have too many routes connecting the scattered members of our Empire.

#### 51.

## OUR AUSTRALIAN COLONIES.

"I have travelled through lands where I never met a hungry man nor saw a discontented face, where, in the softest and sweetest air, and in an unexhausted soil, the fable of Midas is reversed, food does not turn to gold, but the gold, with which the earth is teeming, converts itself into farms and vineyards, into flocks and herds, into crops of wild luxuriance, into cities whose recent origin is concealed and compensated by trees and flowers; where children grow who seem once more to understand what was meant by 'Merry England.'"

FROUDE.

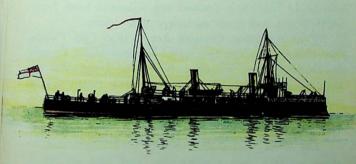
NGLAND, like other European powers, had been in the habit of providing labour for her colonies by transporting to their shores her convicted criminals. But when she lost her

New England colonies, this outlet for the villainy of the old country was closed, and it became necessary to found a new penal settlement.

Captain Cook had explored the eastern shores of the island continent of Australia; had given the name of New South Wales to the country he visited; and, hither, a ship load of convicted felons was sent in 1787. The village of wattled huts, which was built to shelter them, was called Sydney after the minister who dictated the measure. Another convict colony was founded in Van Diemen's Land; but both of these, after remaining



TORPEDO BOAT



H.M.S. "SEAGULL"

convict settlements only, for about thirty years, became, like Canada, the resort of British emigrants.

Soon after responsible government had been granted to Canada it was given to Australia, where the work of exploration had been carried steadily forward, and new settlements formed on the coasts.

The settlement of Swan River, now Western Australia, was commenced in 1829; the colony of South Australia, an independent settlement from the beginning, was founded by emigrants from England in 1836; Port Philip, which has since become the rich and flourishing colony of Victoria, was settled in 1837.

A party of emigrants from England made their homes in the North Island of New Zealand in 1839, and the year after saw the British occupation of South Island. In 1841, New Zealand was separated from New South Wales, and made an independent colony.

By the Australian Colonies' Act of 1850, Port Philip, now Victoria, and Van Diemen's Land, now better known as Tasmania, were separated from New South Wales; and, nine years later, the portion of New South Wales which lay north of the thirtieth degree of south latitude was erected into a separate colony under the title of Queensland.

The seven Australasian colonies were empowered to draw up their own constitutions; they each set up a double chamber consisting of a Legislative Council and a House of Assembly, both of which are elective. There are slight differences in the various colonies, but the general outline of their constitutions is identical throughout.

When we consider that in 1836, the year before Queen Victoria ascended the throne, an odd "shanty" or two stood on the site of the present fine city of Melbourne, it must be admitted that the progress has been marvellous. The place crept along, so to speak, till 1851, when the discovery of gold transformed it into a mighty city. It was gold that made Melbourne, and it was gold that attracted to Australia thousands of rough and vigorous men, with the making of good colonists in them. It is to be hoped that the recent discoveries of the precious metal in Queensland and Western Australia will do a similar service to these colonies.

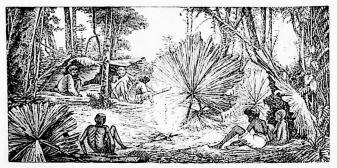


PARAMATTA, FROM THE GROUNDS OF OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE.

There is ample room for the expansion of the English race in Australia. Not only gold, but coal and iron, tin and copper, exist in many places. Meat is ridiculously cheap, fruit is magnificent, and the vineyards are splendid. Oranges are grown to a great extent as near Sydney as Paramatta, only fourteen miles off; whilst there is a teeming wealth of bananas and pine-apples in Queensland.

In the woods native Australians may still be met

with. "They bear the unenviable reputation of occupying the lowest step on the ladder of civilisation. Indeed, the aspect of their camp and its inmates is miserable in the extreme. The shelter of a palm-leaf their sole dwelling; a few rags their whole wardrobe; the bare ground or a mat their only bed.



AUSTRALIA-CAMP OF NATIVES NEAR SOMERSET.

"Such savages represent not a primitive, but rather a degraded condition of mankind—the outcome of a life of semi-starvation, and of complete isolation from better endowed races, which has lasted for ages."

#### 52.

# AUSTRALIAN CITIES.

Only just over one hundred years have passed away since the foundations of *Sydney*, which is now the metropolis of a great colony, and a flourishing commercial centre, were laid. "It was in the year 1784 that the

settlement in Botany Bay was abandoned, and the seat of the Government transferred to *Paramatta*, situated about fifteen miles inland. Soon afterwards, the first houses were built upon the southern shore of Port Jackson, the present site of the capital of New South Wales.

"Sydney, with her wharves and warehouses, her railways and steam-ferries, her busy streets and charming suburbs, her university, museum, and public gardens, stands on a level with the most favoured cities of the Old World.

"Whilst the development of the internal resources of the colony must tend to increase her wealth from year to year, her geographical position points her out as the future emporium of the south-western Pacific. Already the Chinaman, the Malay, and even the Polynesian from Fiji and Tahiti, may be seen in her streets. The only member of the human family conspicuous by his absence is the native Australian, now banished to the deserts of the interior.

"The wide inlet which connects Sydney with the sea, as it winds its course round the wooded promontories which advance from both sides, looks more like a lake than an arm of the sea. Above Sydney the channel contracts in width, and takes the name of the Paramatta River. The scenery of this stream is not inferior in quiet sylvan beauty to that of Port Jackson itself, and may be best enjoyed from the deck of one of the small steamers which daily ply upon the river. At the point where navigation ceases, the steamer is

exchanged for a public conveyance by road; and after a short drive, over lands associated with the earliest attempts at colonisation, the visitor arrives at *Paramatta*, the centre of the railway system of New South Wales, and one of the most pleasantly-situated townships in the colony.

"It is some pleasant country-town of England, transplanted, as if by the stroke of a magician's wand, under the warm and sunny skies of Australia. It is the old country, without its chilly damp air, and its occasional clouds of smoke.

"Paramatta is the junction of four lines of railway. Of these, one runs eastward, towards Sydney; another penetrates the romantic valleys of the Blue Mountains to westward; a third line traverses, in a south-westerly direction, the districts which lie between the sea and the mountains; the fourth proceeds in a north-westerly direction towards the port of Newcastle.

"The day when the railways of New South Wales were joined to those of Victoria and Queensland, commenced a new era in the history of the sister colonies. Petersham, a station on one of these lines, is a very agreeable suburb of Sydney, a few miles from the city.

"In a recently-colonised land, like Australia, nothing is more interesting than the contrast, which presents itself at every step, between the uncivilised past—which, though it has left no record in the pages of history, can be imagined by the student of mankind—and the present, with its abundant proofs of the inexhaustible energy of civilised man, and its promise of still greater achieve-

ments in the future. On one side, the pathless forest, erstwhile the abode of the savage, whose only home was some temporary shelter in the bush; on the other, the lately cleared and fenced-in fields, the high roads and spacious streets of projected towns, the paddocks on the hill-side slopes, the wooden farm-houses and trim-looking villas, the church waiting for its steeple, the railway station, the sound of the steam-whistle echoing through the forest and drowning the war-whoop of the conquered savage—everywhere the signs of a new life, the beginning of a great nation of the future."



PETERSHAM, NEAR SYDNEY.

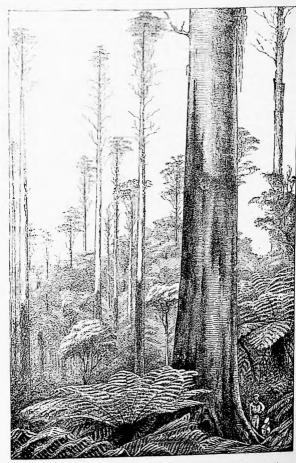
"The first view of *Melbourne* and of its port, as seen from the anchorage, is not prepossessing. The eye first encounters a long wooden pier, crowded with shipping; beyond, an agglomeration of sheds, timberhouses, and tall chimneys; and, some miles inland, a ridge crowded with buildings, towers, and steeples, which mark the site of the famous capital of Victoria.

"That a large city, the centre of a prosperous community, enjoying the advantages of modern civilised life, should occupy a spot where, within one's memory there was a wilderness, the haunt of one of the least elevated races of man, seems little short of a miracle, and amply justifies the pride with which the citizen of Victoria speaks of his capital.

"It would be impossible, within the limits here available, to give any adequate idea of the past history and present status of this land of gold-mines, sheep-runs, and gum-tree forests; of its commerce, its educational and benevolent institutions, its government, and its social life. Those who seek such information may find in nany recent works abundant evidence of the rapid growth and importance of one of England's most promising daughters.

"In striking contrast with the somewhat tame surroundings of Hobson Bay is the scenery of the Australian Alps, a westerly extension of which divides Melbourne from the basin of the Murray River. Here, in many a sheltered gully, watered by mountain torrents, the characteristic vegetation of Australia may be seen in all its splendour—the fern-tree, with its exquisite tender and fresh green foliage, and the white gum-tree, whose stupendous trunk rises straight and gradually tapering from its forest bed to a height of several hundred feet—the former the most graceful, the latter the most gigantic representative of the vegetable kingdom."

DR. WILD.



VICTORIA (SCENE NEAR FERNSHAW, NORTH-EAST OF MELBOURNE).

53.

## NEW ZEALAND.

"If it lies written in the book of destiny that the English nation has still within it great men who will take a place among the demi-gods, I can well believe it will be in the unexhausted soil and spiritual capabilities of New Zealand that the great English poets, artists, philosophers, statesmen, and soldiers of the future will be born and nurtured."

FROUDE.

HE sea which divides Australia from New Zealand seems narrow enough upon a chart of the Pacific Ocean; yet the distance between Port Jackson and Cook Strait is over

twelve hundred miles.



VILLAGE OF HUTT, NEAR WELLINGTON.

"The village of Hutt, near Wellington, the capital of New Zealand, is a fair illustration of England at the Antipodes. The immigrant, as he surveys it from the bridge—with its houses and gardens, its steeple and its winding river, its cultivated fields and timbered hills—

### THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

# I.—The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Area, 121,115 square miles. Population, 37,740,283.

#### II.-Our Indian Empire.

Province.	Area.	Population.	Government.
Bengal	151,543	71,346,987	LieutGovernor
North West Provinces	83,286	34,254,254	
Oudb	24,217	12,650,831	
Punjab	110,667	20,866,847	
Central Provinces	86,501	10,784,294	Chief Commissioner
Upper Burma	83,473	2,946,933	
Lower Burma	87,957	4,658,627	11
Assam	49,004	5,476,833	**
Madras	141,189	35,630,440	Governor
Bombay	77,275	15,985,270	
Sindb	47,789	2,871,774	
Berar	17,718	2,897,491	Governor General
Ajmer	2,711	542,358	***
Courg	1,583	173,055	
	80	44,079	Under Bombay Gvt.
Andaman Islands	-	27,270	Governor General
		15,600	**
Total British Provinces	2-41773	221,172,952	
Haiderabad	82,693	11,537,040	!
Rajputana		12,016,102	
Central India		10,316,812	1
Mysore	27.936	4,943,604	
Baroda		2,415,393	
States conn't'd with Bomba	. 80,900	2,543,952	
34.1.		8,059,298	
" C D	717	3,700,622	
D	29,435 35,834		
" " N.W. Provi	- 35,034 - 35,034		
Puniah			
Ft Steadman, Shan outpost		2,992	
Total Feudatory States			
GRAND TOTAL INDIA			
GERNE TOTAL INDIA	-1 1,500,100	287,223,43	<u> </u>

#### III .- Colonies in the Mediterranean.

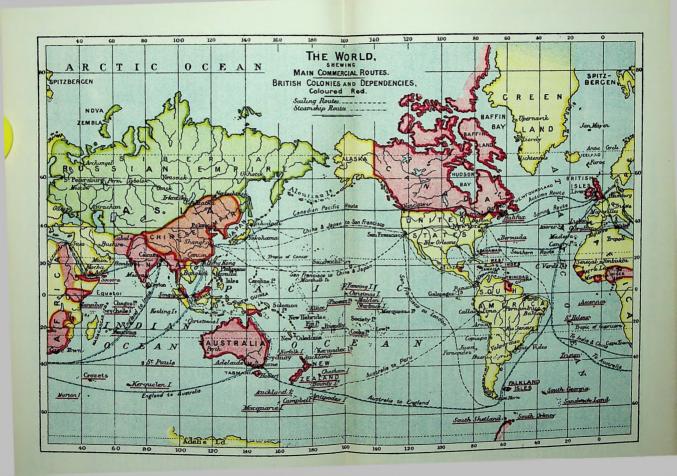
1	III. Odioliles III die III-							
l	Colony.	Arca.	Population.	Government.				
Į	Gibraltar	125	25.775 177,225 209,291	Crown Colony Representative Protectorate				

## IV.-Colonies, etc., in Asia.

1	I V. COLOTTION, CVCI,		·	
l	Colony.	Area.	Population,	Government.
I	Arabian Coast	8,000	130,000	Protectorate
1	Kuria Muria Isles	27	-	Crawn Colony
1	Ceylon	24,702	3,008,239	Representative
ł	Maldive Islands	115	3,000	Protectorate
ł	Straits Settlements	T1543	506,984	Crown Colony
1	Malay Protectorates	33,279	605,000	Protectorate
Ì	North Borneo	31,000	120,000	
	Labuan	30	5,853	Crown Colony
Į	Sultanate of Brunei	8,100	50,000	Protectorate
ı	Sarawak	41,000	320,000	**
	Hong Kong	30		Casus Calana

#### V.-Colonies, etc., in Africa.

Colony.	Area.	Population.	Covernment.
Gambia (Bathurst)	2,700	50,000	Crown Colony
Sierra Leone	3,000	74,000	
Gold Coast	38,685	1,500,000	
Lagos	1,060	85,607	
Niger Protectorate	-		Protectorate
Oil Rivers Protectorate	-		
British East Africa	-	_	**
Cape Colony	221,940	1,526,456	Responsible
Walfish Bay	480	768	A COLUMN TO THE REAL PROPERTY AND ADDRESS OF THE PARTY AND ADDRESS OF T
Basutoland	t1,750	218,902	Controlled from
British Hechuanaland	71,425	60,376	Cape Colony
Zambesia			_
Nyassaland	619,520	1,350,000	Protectorate
Natal	17,605	543,865	Responsible
Zululand	8,620	142,600	Controlled ( m Na
Socotra	1,382	12,000	Protectorate
Zanzibar	288	210,000	



THE	BRITISH	E 100

ontinued.)

1	Colonies	in	Australia.

Colony.	Area.	Population.	Government
eensland	668,359	393,938	Responsible Crown Colony
w South Wales	88,460 308,560	489,000 1,132,234	Responsible
toria	88,451	1,140.405	
th Australia	380,602	315,048	fo fo
forthern Territory	523,531 975,824	4,958 49,835	,,
horigines	26,215	55,000 146,667	.,
w Zealand	103,657	6:6,830	**
Islands	8,045	121,180	Crown Colony

#### II.-Colonies in North America.

Colony.	Arca.	Population.	Governmen
minion of Canada	3,385,300	4,829,411	Responsible
rince Edward Island	2,000	109,088	
Vova Scotia	20,600	450,523	
Vew Brunswick	28,200	321.294	
)uebec	228,000	1,488,596	
Intario	222,000	2,112,989	
Janitoba	73,956	154,442	!
British Columbia	383,300	92,767	
District of Alberta	106,100	26,123	
Assiniboia	89,535	30,285	
Saskatchewan	107,091	11,146	
Unorganised Territory	2,123,661	32,168	
wfoundland	42,734	202,100	11
.abrador	120.003	4,211	

#### III.-Colonies in the West Indies, Central and S. America.

Colony.	Атеа.	Population.	Government.
itish Honduras e Bahamas maica		47,565	Crown Colony Representative Crown Colony

## VIII .- Colonies in the West Indies, etc .- continued.

Colony.	Arex	Pepulation.	Government.	
.eeward Islands	7'-5 550 166 1,868	127,603 135,976 182,306 226,383 284,887	Crown Colony Representative Crown Colony	

#### IX.-Islands in the Pacific Ocean.

	isla	nd.						Ates.	Population.	Government.
Johnston	Islar	ıd.		 		_		1		Crown Colony
Farming								15	150	***
Christina	LS ,,							234	-	10
Malden	11			 ٠.	٠.			35	168	10
Starbuck				٠.				1	-	11
Penthyn			٠,					3	373	
Suwarro								2	-	**
Union Is	dands		٠,					5	514	
Phænix							.	16	52	
Gilbert	11							166	5,200	
Cook	**							142	38,000	Protectorate

### X.-Islands in the Indian Ocean.

Island,	Area	Population.	Government.	
Mauritius Island	739 346	377,986 19,651	Crown Colony	

## XI.-Islands in the Atlantic Ocean.

Island.	Area.	Population.	Government.
Bermudas Ascension	19	15,013	Representative Crown Colony
St. Helena	47	4,116	"
Falkland Islands	4,839	1,789	17

might fancy himself at home, and forget that he has put half the earth's compass between himself and his native land.

"The Maori, thanks to his valour, has not yet been improved out of existence. He may still be met in the streets of Wellington, disguised, however, in the garb of civilisation. The faces of the older men are elaborately tattooed according to ancient custom; but the younger people have apparently given up this mode of personal adornment.

"The Maori King and the bulk of his whilom subjects now occupy the north-eastern part of the island. This courageous and intelligent branch of the Polynesian race may possibly learn to adapt itself to the conditions of civilised life, and thus escape the fate of the aboriginal tribes of Australia and Tasmania.

"The house of the Maori, like the cabin of the poorest peasantry of Ireland, is generally very crowded, old and young being confined together in a narrow space."

New Zealand, the healthiest country in the world, is admirably adapted to the constitution of Britons. Fortunately, here the population combines almost the same proportion of English, Scotch, and Irish as are found in the mother country, with just such a sprinkling of Germans as will confirm the energy of its people.

Of the sixty-six million acres of New Zealand, only twenty millions have been appropriated; and as the whole white population only amounts to just over six hundred thousand, there is still ample room for expansion. Here there is no lack of rainfall, the great drawback of Australia. It is another England, with a superb climate.

Wool and wheat, live stock of various kinds, coal and gold, are among the leading products, whilst manufactures are in a fair way to develop.

In the Pacific Ocean, to the north of New Zealand, lie the Kermadec and Tonga Islands, both of which groups are within the British sphere of influence.



NEW ZEALAND (MAORI HUTS ON THE RIVER WHETTU).

"The Kermadee Islands are said to be uninhabited, though they must have been occasionally visited by canoes from the neighbouring islands, situated as they are nearly midway between New Zealand and the Archipelagoes of Tonga and Fiji. Recent soundings have shown that the Kermadee Islands belong to the same sub-marine plateau, which, with an average depth of about fifteen hundred fathoms, connects the Tonga, Fiji, and Samoan Islands, a channel of over two thousand fathoms dividing this plateau from that of New Zealand.

The Tongans are probably the best looking of the Polynesian races. Their dress, originally confined to a piece of cloth called "Tapa," made from the bark of trees, and wound round the loins, is now more frequently replaced by stuffs and garments of European manufacture. They have been converted to Christianity, and are not unfamiliar with the mysteries of the "three R's."

#### 54.

### SOUTH AFRICA.

"The Cape Colony, as we ought to know, but in practice we always forget, was originally a Dutch Colony."

FROUDE.



URING the great European war which followed the French Revolution, the navies of the Continent all sided with France. This being so, it was of the utmost importance

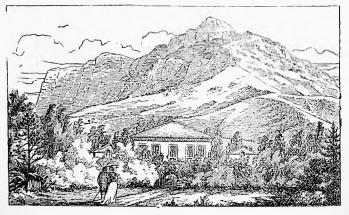
that Britain should strengthen her chain of naval stations, so as to secure her foreign possessions and safeguard her foreign trade.

The Cape of Good Hope was the key of the route to India. It was in the hands of the Dutch East India Company, which had planted a colony there. The Dutch Republic, with all its foreign dependencies, was seized upon by France; and it became a matter of importance that England should hold the Cape, so it was taken by the invincible fleet; and after the peace of 1814, English emigrants settled there.

The Dutch settlers had been slave-owners; and when

slavery was abolished in the British dominions, they "trecked" to the north and founded the so-called Free States of the Orange River and the Transvaal.

So long as the only route to our Indian Empire was round the Cape of Good Hope, it was held essential that an Imperial garrison should be stationed there, and that Cape Colony should be maintained as a Crown



MOWBRAY.

Colony; but after the Suez Canal was opened, in 1870, the colonists undertook to defend themselves; and, in 1872, Cape Colony was granted responsible government, with a Legislative Council and House of Assembly, both of which are elective.

The colony of *Natal* has recently accepted responsible government, although the blacks form the great majority.

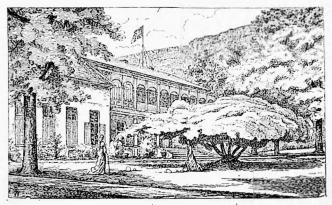
Cape Colony proper has this in common with Australia, that, away from the coast, there is a lamentable lack of water-supply, and this has greatly hindered its commercial development. Agriculture can never reach great dimensions in the Cape proper; sheep and cattle, wine, minerals, including gold, silver, iron, and copper, must be its great industrial hope in the future.

The extension of British influence to beyond the Zambesi, the inclusion of territories rich in minerals and others unsurpassed for agricultural purposes and settlement in *Mashonaland*, lead us to hope that, in time, there may be a United South Africa, in which the British spirit will predominate, and Imperial commercial interests be supreme.

"Too short a time has elapsed since Cape Colony passed under British rule to have effaced the numerous traces of its original founders. While the names which meet the traveller's eye as he journeys up the country remind him of the nation which preceded England as mistress of the seas; the trim, park-like scenery on all sides recalls the Dutchman's passion for trees and flowers, urging him to transform what was once a desert into a paradise of pine woods and blooming gardens, shady avenues and charming villas.

"Cape Town possesses few buildings of architectural pretensions. Its streets are regularly laid out at right angles to each other, but do not seem to be kept in good order. The aspect of the town, as seen from the deck of a ship anchored in the bay, is striking in the extreme. On the right hand rises the hill which

derives its name from a resemblance to the figure of a couching lion; in front, Table Mountain, whose stupendous cliffs meet the eye at every turn; and, to the left, the time-worn crest of Devil's Peak."



CAPE TOWN (GOVERNMENT HOUSE).

## 55.

# EASTERN TROPICAL COLONIES.

"They sailed mid isles whose summer smiles
Were dimmed by no allov;
Whose groves were palm, whose air was balm,
And life—one only jny."

RICHARDSON.

EYLON, the largest of the Crown Colonies, differs in many respects from India. The climate, especially on the plateaux and hills, is superb, although the European population is small, and mainly occupied in directing the

labours of the natives. Much of the country is, as yet, undeveloped, only about one-eighth being under cultivation; and a considerable proportion of that consists of large tea, cinchona, and coffee estates. Coffee, however, is rapidly dying out, and tea is taking its place. Ceylon has also her plumbago mines, her cocoa-nut plantations, her cinnamon, and her pearls.

Ceylon is one prodigious garden, where the forces of Nature almost oppress and tyrannise the mind, so lush and lavish is the vegetation. This is most of all evident in the remarkable journey between Kandy and Colombo by the railway which climbs the central hills. Leaving the coast, you first of all travel through interminable groves of palms, between which lie sodden but fruitful flats of rice-ground and jungly swamp, steaming and teeming with life. Every corner where water lodges, or sun-rays fall, is seen choked with struggling stems, furious to live and blossom and bear seed. Left to themselves, every road, every village, every city in Ceylon would quickly revert to jungle, so rich is the soil and sunlight, so keen the contest of the wild trees and wilful shrubs to live and thrive.

Borneo is an island of the truly tropical type, crossed by the Equator. The northern part of the island has for some years been a British dependency, and is being exploited by the British North Borneo Company, one of those chartered companies through which, in recent years, we have been greatly extending our Empire. Much of it is covered with the typical tropical forest; and its natives are not much more advanced in civilisation than those of Central Africa.

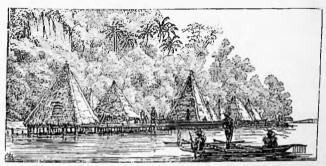
The native products of Borneo are of value, and they are worked and exported; but the Company wisely recognises that the mere collection of native produce will never lead to much. The land is being taken up; already considerable tracts have been planted with tobacco, coffee, and other crops; and the prospects of the colony are promising.

Bordering on Sabah, the British North Borneo Company's territory in the south-west, is another stretch of country, comprising the *Sultanate of Brunei* and the district of *Sarawak*, which we have taken under our protection. We may hear more of these in the future, as the country is rich in mineral resources, including coal.

It was in New Guinea as it was in Africa; until Germany came into the field we did not appreciate its value, although we might have had the whole of the largest island in the world as part of our Empire. As it is, we have been fortunate enough to secure a portion of its south-eastern corner lying opposite to the northern point of Queensland

The more we know of the geography of this possession and its neighbouring islands, the more promising they seem from a commercial point of view. The Administrator of British New Guinea succeeded in climbing a magnificent range of mountains, where he found snow and ice. The slopes and upland valleys of these mountains may in future become of great value for the development of the country, rendering it possible for Europeans to make it their home, at least for a time. But it is essentially a tropical colony, and must be developed by native labour.

When we look at the map of the Pacific Ocean, we see many scattered patches of the Empire. In themselves these lovely islands may be of little value. Copra, the dried kernel of the cocoa-nut, and guano yield some little to British commerce; but the great importance of these islets is as stepping-stones to connect Vancouver Island,



NEW GUINEA-VILLAGE.

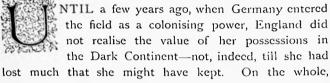
in the Dominion of Canada, with Australia and New Zealand. There can be no doubt that, ere long, a cable will unite these important portions of the Empire, and our island possessions will prove useful as connecting-links. Already there is a regular steamship route between Port Vancouver and Australia, a distance of nearly six thousand eight hundred miles.

#### 56.

## ENGLAND'S SHARE OF AFRICA.

"I speak of Africa and golden joys."

SHAKSPERE.



however, in the scramble for Africa, we have no reason to complain of our share.

For development by Europeans, the great region south of the Zambesi is more favourably situated than any other part of Africa of equal extent. All this is virtually under British influence, except the barren and hopeless region of Damara Land and Namaqualand, to which Germany is welcome. The chief port of this region, Walfish Bay, belongs to the Cape.

The dispute with Portugal over certain districts in *Nyassaland* has ended, and we have gained our point. Nearly all the country between Lakes Nyassa and Bangweolo is British.

The whole of the region around the middle and lower Niger is ours, securing us, if we are enterprising, the trade of the Central Soudan. We have four little colonies on the Gold and West Coasts not to be despised.

Egypt, it may be said, is a dependency of Turkey; but, at present, she is in English hands, and seems

likely to remain so. Outside the Red Sea, opposite Aden, we have the long strip of the Somali Coast; while southward, we come upon the territory of the Imperial British East African Company, where already railways and harbours are being constructed, and routes opened up to the rich regions round the great lakes, which are now virtually under British influence.

The whole of Cape Colony and Natal lie well outside the Tropic of Capricorn, about the same latitude south as Algeria and Spain do north. But our South African possessions extend far beyond the Zambesi, and probably cover nearly a million square miles. As much of this is plateau country, a large proportion of it, as far as climate is concerned, might very well be settled by Europeans. In the low-lying coast districts, of course, the climate is not favourable.

On the whole, the region south of the Zambesi may be classed as a colony of settlement, in a part of which Europeans can live and work.

All our other African possessions are colonies in which Britons cannot work owing to the hot climate. British East Africa, the Royal Niger Company's Territory, Nyassaland, and the West Coast Colonies must be developed either by native or Coolie labour.

That gold exists in enormous quantities in South Africa, especially in the Transvaal, in Matabeleland, and in Mashonaland, there can be little doubt. At present, gold is found in reefs, mainly of quartz, and therefore requires expensive machinery to crush it. The extension of the railway from the Cape, on the one hand, and

Delagoa Bay, on the other, will greatly decrease the expense of crushing, as it will enable machinery to be conveyed at a cheap rate, and in other ways will diminish expenses.

The important feature, at present, about this South African gold is that it will help, to some extent, to furnish the capital with which to develop the other resources of the great area of South Africa recently brought within British influence.

The British East African Company's eighty thousand square miles of territory are mainly valuable as giving access to Uganda, Unyoro, and the other rich countries around the great lakes.

#### 57.

## AROUND THE EMPIRE.

"Art thou a man?—a patriot?—look around;

Oh thou shalt find, however thy footsteps roam,

That land thy country, and that spot thy home."

Montgomery.

NDIA and the Colonies generally, although the self-governing ones provide for their own defence, form part of the area which is defended by the British fleet. But for that fleet, England would be entirely disregarded in the Councils of Europe; she would be robbed of her colonies;

But for the fleet, the English working man would find his daily labour gone, and the cost of bread increased to famine price. To enable the fleet to defend

and she could not hold her Indian Empire a year.

the Empire, we have naval stations on each and all of the five great roads of maritime commerce.

On the *road to Canada*, we have but one station, *Halifax*, Nova Scotia, where we maintain a large and important dockyard.

On the road to the West Indies we hold the four naval stations of Bermuda, the Bahamas, Jamuica, and Antigua. The dockyard of Bermuda is our second great station in the Atlantic.



BERMUDA (H.M.S. "CHALLENGER" AT IRELAND ISLAND).

The naval station is at Ireland Island, and here is placed the dockyard, where disabled ships can be refitted.

On the road to India, the Straits Settlements, and Australia we have seven naval stations, namely—Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Bombay, Cape Comorin, Trincomalee, Singapore, Hong Kong, and King George's Sound in Western Australia.

"Stirring recollections are aroused by the name of

Gibraltar—that 'lion couchant' which keeps watch and ward at the gate of the Mediterranean. To the new-comer it presents a singular combination of rocks and bastions, barracks and piles of cannon-balls, red coats and strange turbaned and slippered white figures hailing from Ceuta and Tangier.

"One of the favourite promenades and drives of the



GIBRALTAR (THE GOVERNOR'S COTTAGE AND O'HARA TOWER).

inhabitants of the 'Rock' is the fine carriage-road, which leads towards Europa Point, and, bending round, runs along the eastern face of the rock, past the Governor's Cottage and O'Hara Tower.

"The place has a kind of fascination for the British soldier and sailor, by whom it is affectionately called 'Gib.' This is not to be wondered at, for, barren rock

though it be, it is perhaps of all conquests achieved by British valour the most impressive symbol of England's greatness."

Malta, the chief coaling and cable station of the Mediterranean, is an island of great strategic importance, owing to its excellent harbour at Valetta, and to its position in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea. Cyprus, which we acquired in 1878, has not yet been utilised.

Aden occupies a small peninsula built at the foot of a huge crater backed by steep and lofty hills. It is an important coaling and military station on the overland route, possessing huge water-tanks capable of storing thirty millions of gallons. Aden was acquired by India, and Gibraltar, Malta, and Hong Kong have become colonies on account of their importance as naval stations. Cape Comorin and Trincomalee are the keys of the far east, protecting our route to Madras, Calcutta, and China.

Hong-Kong and the Straits Settlements are types of colonics of a peculiar class. Hong Kong is a miniature island off the coast of China of only thirty square miles, with a total European population of eight thousand—including a large military and naval contingent, for it is an important strategic position—and an Asiatic population of two hundred thousand. Its trade amounts to six millions annually, and of that four millions is carried on with Great Britain. But it is mostly a transit trade—that is, goods are imported from China and elsewhere, only to be re-exported.

"The trade of Hong Kong is as nothing to that of the Straits Settlements, the chief port of which, Singapore, is so well situated as a centre for the receipt and distribution of the produce from a wide and productive region. It is on the great highway of all the traffic between Eastern Asia and the West, and thus we find that the trade of the Colony amounts to about sixty millions sterling annually. This is, of course, almost entirely a transit trade, and the direct share of England is small, not exceeding eight millions.



THE " HAPPY VALLEY," HONG KONG.

"But the Straits Settlements are developing into something more than a half-way-house for the trade between the East and the West; for behind the settlements, in the long Malay Peninsula, are a number of native states, like Johore and Perak, which formerly were in a constant state of disturbance. These have been gradually brought under the influence of the Settlements, and are now British Protectorates, to use a word which indicates one of the first stages towards annexation.

"British residents live at the courts of the native

chiefs or princes; and, under their guidance, the resources of these neglected and once disorderly states, rich in minerals, with a soil capable of being put to excellent use, are being gradually developed, mainly by British capital."

#### 58.

On the road to the Cape, India, and Australia we have six important naval stations, namely—Sierra Leone, Ascension, St. Helena, Simon's Bay in Cape Colony, Mauritius, and King George's Sound.

Sierra Leone, or Lion Mountain, is so notoriously fatal to Europeans that it bears the name of the "white man's grave"; once the stronghold of slavery, it is now an important trading station.

The two Crown colonies of Ascension and St. Helena are employed solely as naval stations.

"Ascension Island has the appearance of a huge heap of volcanic cones, ashes, and cinders. Its surface is covered with numerous extinct craters, which, seen from the height of Green Mountain, its loftiest summit, presents a truly interesting spectacle.

St. Helena, a dark mass of volcanic rock rising in perpendicular cliffs from the bosom of the Atlantic, belongs to the great volcanic chain which includes the Azores, Canaries, Cape Verdes, Madeiras, Ascension, and Tristan. Jamestown is its port and place of call; and Longwood, towards the centre of the island, was the place of Napoleon's banishment and the scene of his eleath.

On the Cape Horn road to the Pacific and Australia we have, in addition to Sierra Leone and Ascension, the Falkland Isles, Sydney, and Fiji.

"The harbour of Stanley, in the Falkland Islands, crowded with wrecks towed in from the surrounding stormy seas, has an air of sadness. The Falklands are situated in about the same latitude in the Southern Hemisphere as that of England in the Northern," so that they are at a distance of nearly seven thousand miles from home.

The Fiji Islands are apparently of volcanic origin. The



STANLEY, FALKLAND ISLANDS, SEEN FROM THE EAST.

whole Archipelago, comprising more than two hundred islands of all sizes, forms a ring of an average diameter of from two hundred to two hundred and fifty miles, and enclosing a sea, studded with islands and coral reefs, by no means easy of navigation. The two largest islands are placed, one—Vauna Levu—in the north, the other —Viti Levu—in the west. The longest diameter of each, though they look mere specks upon the charts of the Pacific Ocean, is about one hundred miles.

The port of Levuku, on the Island of Ovalau, is composed of a modern town, containing the hotels,

shops, and private dwellings of the white man, and of the ancient town still inhabited by the native Fijians.



PIJI ISLANDS-LEVUKU.

Its fine harbour is a naval station of great value, and might be made the Malta of the Pacific.

59.

# THE WEST INDIES, ETC.

"Where first his drooping sails Columbus furled,
And sweetly rested on another world,
Amidst the heaven-reflecting ocean smiles
A constellation of Elysian Isles."

MONTGOMERY.

HE emancipation of the Negroes rendered imperative the disfranchisement of our West Indian Colonists. The constitutions of these islands dated from their acquisition by this country, and were of a representative character, with governors and executive councils appointed by the

So long as the planters were the only class possessing

Crown.

political rights, representative government worked very well; but when the Negroes became freemen and entitled to votes, they returned members of their own colour, and soon the legislatures came into collision with the governments.

The cost of separate governments was a heavy burden on these small islands, and they were persuaded to give up their representative constitutions, and accept new ones of the "Crown" model. The only West Indian islands which still retain their original representative governments are Barbados and the Bahamas.

The total area of our Colonies in the West Indies is about twelve thousand square miles, and they support a population of a million-and-a-half, of whom only about sixty thousand are Europeans, who superintend native labour and hold official appointments.

The natives, who are mostly descended from the old Negro slaves, do not take very kindly to work, so that in several of the islands much of the labour is performed by Coolies from India. The prosperity which these islands formerly enjoyed received a severe check when Germany and France propped up their home sugar-growing industry by bounties. But, in the end, this will be for the good of these Colonies; for, in the future, they will not depend so much on their sugar. Cocoa, coffee, cinchona, tea, and other crops are being tried, and fruit-growing is gaining ground.

In the strictest sense these islands do not afford suitable homes for Englishmen, and the same may be said of the neighbouring Colony of British Guiana,

which is nine times as large as all our West Indies, but with a population of not more than three hundred thousand, the great majority of whom are Chinese Coolies, West Indian natives, and Portuguese from Madeira, imported for labour purposes. The English population does not exceed two thousand, and the interior of the country is practically unoccupied.

"To the question, Of what value are the Colonies? the answer is that they enable the British people to increase and multiply. The British nation is something more than a gathering of producers and consumers and tax-payers: it is a factor, and one of the most powerful, in the development of the whole human race. By its intellect, by its character, by its laws and literature, by its sword and cannon, it has impressed its stamp upon mankind with a print as marked as the Roman. The nation is but the individuals who compose it, and the wider the area over which these individuals are growing, the more there will be of them, the stronger they will be in mind and body, and the deeper the roots which they will strike among the foundation-stones of things. These islands are small, and are full to overflowing. In the Colonies only we can safely multiply, and the people are awakening to know it." 1

"The returns of trade show that commerce follows the flag. Our Colonies take three times as much of our productions in proportion to their numbers as foreigners take. The difference increases rather than diminishes, and the Australian, as a mere consumer, is more valuable to us than the American."

<sup>1</sup> Froude.

60.

## IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

"Britain's myriad voices call,

'Sons be welded each and all,

Into one imperial whole,

One with Britain, heart and soul!

One life, one flag, one fleet, one throne!

Britons hold your own."

TENNYSON.

HE people of England have made the Colonies. The people at home and the people in the Colonies are one people. The feeling of identity is perhaps stronger in the Colonies

than at home.

"It begins to be admitted that were Canada and South Africa and Australia and New Zealand members of one body with us, with a free flow of our population into them, we might sit secure against shifts and changes. In the multiplying number of our fellow-citizens, animated by a common spirit, we should have purchasers for our goods from whom we should fear no rivalry; we should turn in upon them the tide of our emigrants which now flows away, while the emigrants themselves would thrive under their own fig-tree, and rear children with stout limbs and colour in their cheeks, and a chance for them of a human existence. Oceana would then rest on sure foundations; and her navy, the hand of her strength and the symbol of her unity, would ride securely in self-supporting stations in the four quarters of the globe.

"The English at home and the English in the Colonies are a realised family which desires not to be divided; we, the people of England, have always regarded them as our kindred, bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh.



IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.

They will never submit again to be ruled from England; but if the colonists know that as their feeling is to us so is ours to them, they will aim at no severed existence, but all, mutually strengthening each other, will form one majestic nation which may defy the storms of fate.

"Besides, self-respect is the very essence of national life. A great nation may suffer great disasters, and survive them, if the spirit of its people remains intact. But if a nation loses its vigour and self-respect, if it begins to groan under the burdens of extended empire, and to prefer comfort to honour, ignoble ease to noble effort, the hour of its decline has sounded. Imperial Rome did not long survive when she began to contract her frontiers and buy off barbarians. The most fatal thing any Government can do for a country is to destroy its sense of self-respect, and teach it to acquiesce in what is felt to be dishonourable.

"If a necessity arises for maintaining by the sword an empire which has been won by the sword, we must not shrink from the task; we must not, like those parochial politicians who look upon India, the Colonies, and extended empire generally as troublesome encumbrances rather than glorious possessions. The first duty of patriotic citizens is to hand down the British Empire to our sons no less great and glorious than we received it from our fathers.

"We need not listen to those who tell us it is better for us to stay at home, mind our own affairs, avoid entanglements, contract responsibilities, pass Reform Bills, and reduce taxes, trusting to the "silver streak" and the chapter of accidents to protect us from invasion. The straight and narrow path which leads upwards is the one to follow; not the easy one which leads, with a pleasant slope, to a lower level."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Samuel Laing.



THE RIGHT HON. H. H. FOWLER, who had charge of the Parish Councils Bill in the House of Commons.

# APPENDIX.

# PARISH COUNCILS AND PARISH MEETINGS.

HE Local Government Act, 1894—popularly known as the Parish Councils Act—which comes into active operation in November, 1894, effects great changes in the parish government of England and Wales.

There will then be three grades of local authorities for every part of rural England and Wales:—

- (a) There will be the County, with its County Council;
- (b) There will be rural districts, each with its District Council; and
- (e) Each rural district divided into parishes, each of which will now have its own parish government, as provided by the Parish Councils Act.

Every parish, no matter how large or small it may be, is to have its own separate local Parliament, which is called the *Parish Meeting*. At an Assembly of the Parish Meeting, all the men of the parish who are registered as voters for members of Parliament, and all the men and women of the parish who are registered as county voters, may be present. These two classes of voters together are called the *Parochial Electors* of the parish.

An Assembly of the Parish Meeting may discuss parish affairs, and pass resolutions thereon. Therefore, such matters as the making of a railway through the parish, the state of the drainage of the parish or of the roads, the fairs held in the parish, the efficiency of the elementary schools, are examples of fit and proper subjects for discussion at Assemblies of the Parish Meeting.

The resolutions carried by a Parish Meeting may be forwarded to the District Council, County Council, or even to the House of Commons, where they will meet with attention.

The Parish Meeting may be regarded, in short, as the successor of the Open Vestry. But each Parochial Elector will have only one vote on any subject; the Incumbent will no longer have a right to preside at the deliberations, and the meeting is concerned only with the affairs of the parish. The Vestry will continue to meet, as before, for business connected with the Church.

If the Parish Meeting is not unanimous in settling any question, recourse may be had to a poll, and then any Parochial Elector of the parish will be enabled to record his vote, whether he was present or not, at the Assembly. And at any time before the conclusion of a Parish Meeting, any one Parochial Elector may demand a poll in the case of a question arising respecting a number of matters, of which the following are examples:—

- (a) Any application, representation, or complaint to the County Council or District Council.
- (b) The appointment of a chairman for the year, or of a committee, or the delegation of any powers or duties to a committee, or the approval of the acts of a committee.
- (c) The appointment of an overseer and assistant overseer.
- (d) The appointment of trustees, or of those to obtain the benefits of a parish charity.
- (e) Whether the parish is to adopt any of the Adoptive Acts, which are concerned with lighting the parish, providing baths and wash-houses, providing burial-grounds, buying land for play-

grounds, and providing and maintaining public walks, seats, and shelters from the rain, and providing a free Public Library.

- (f) Incurring any expense to the parish, or liability to pay any money.
- (g) The time and place for the Assembly of the Parish Meeting.

In all these cases any one Parochial Elector may demand a poll; but a poll may be taken on any subject if the chairman of the meeting consents, or if the poll be demanded by not less than five Parochial Electors, or one-third of those present, whichever number is the smaller.

But besides the Parish Meeting, a very large number of the parishes of England and Wales will each have a Parish Council. In those parishes which have Parish Councils, the powers and duties of the Parish Meetings are not so extensive as those which have not Parish Councils.

Neither sex nor marriage disqualify for being elected, or being a member of a Parish Council. So that, should the Parochial Electors wish to have single or married ladies on their Councils, in addition to, or in complete substitution for, men, they can do so.

Every parish with more than 300 inhabitants must have a Council, consisting of from five to fifteen elected members, as the County Council may order. No parish with less than 100 inhabitants can have a separate Council. Parishes whose population is more than 100, but less than 300, have Parish Councils only when so

ordered by the County Council. But the County Council has power to group any parish, whatever its size (provided its Parish Meeting consent), with any other parish or parishes, so that the group may have a common Parish Council, whilst each member of the group continues to have its own Parish Meeting.

those parishes which have separate Parish Councils, the principal duty of the Parish Meeting will be the election of Parish Councillors. They may also exercise a restraining influence over the Parish Council, as their consent is required before the Parish Council can exercise certain of their powers, and before they can spend money involving a rate exceeding threepence in

the pound, or borrow.

Parish Councils have extensive powers. They take over most of the civil functions of the Vestry, and those of Burial Boards, Commissioners for Public Libraries, Allotment Managers and some other bodies, where they exist. They are also to have some of the functions of the Overseers, and all the civil duties of the Churchwardens; and the appointment of Overseers rests with them alone.

Moreover, they have many new powers, among which are that of complaining to the County Council if the District Council fail to carry out their duties as Rural Sanitary Authority; the power to cleanse insanitary pools and ditches in the parish, to acquire rights of way, to undertake the repair of footpaths, to utilise natural water supplies, and provide recreation grounds and public buildings. They also have compulsory powers

for hiring, and, through the County Council, for buying land for allotments, and some other public purposes.

They are empowered in many cases to elect trustees of Parochial Charities, and otherwise concern themselves in the management of charities which are not of an ecclesiastical nature. The Parish Council, instead of the Parish Officers, as formerly, will hold and manage all parish property.

In those parishes where there is no Parish Council, the Parish Meeting has many of the powers which would be exercised by a Parish Council if there were one. The Parish Meeting, instead of electing a Parish Council, is itself the governing body of the parish. It takes over all the civil powers of the Vestry; it will have the appointment of Overseers, the appointment, in some cases, of trustees of parochial charities; and its consent is requisite before a public right of way can be stopped up or diverted. It may complain of any default of duty by the District Council. The Chairman is elected annually, and holds office for a year, and all parish property is to be legally vested in him and the Overseers.

The Parish Meeting must assemble at least twice a-year, and may be convened as often as any six Parochial Electors or the Chairman choose.

Burial Boards, Allotment Managers, Free Library Commissioners and other such bodies, where they already exist, will continue; but where they do not already exist, they may be called into existence by the Parish Meeting.

In the case of grouped parishes, the Parish Meeting of each parish elects representatives of the parish for the common Parish Council, appoints the Overseers for the year, chooses a Chairman for the year, and has all the other powers and duties of a Parish Meeting of a parish which has no Parish Council, whilst the Parish Council of the group exercises the additional powers beyond those, such as the acquisition of land for buildings, recreation grounds, and allotments, repairing of footpaths, dealing with insanitary ponds and ditches, utilising natural water supplies, and acquiring rights of way. It also takes over the duties of Burial Boards, Allotment Managers, and Library Commissioners, where they exist in any of the parishes of the group.

The County Councils are directed to exercise a general control over both Parish Meetings and Parish Councils. They may be appealed to in some cases of difficulty, and their consent is necessary before a Parish Council can borrow money or buy land, and they are to see that the parish books are properly kept, and accessible to those who are entitled to inspect them.

Those districts which are not rural, but are called "urban," will be under the control of *Urban District Councils*, which take over the powers and duties of Urban Sanitary Authorities; and in London the Vestries will in future be elected in the same way as Urban District Councils are elsewhere.

The rooms of a public elementary school may be made use of for Parish Meetings or by Parish Councils; but they must hold their meetings at such times as do not interfere with the school work, and must give the managers due notice.

Or other rooms maintained out of the rates, such as the Guardians' room, the free library, or the Sessions house may be used for a Parish Meeting, provided always that such use does not clash with the primary object for which such places were built.

A Parish Council may make bye-laws for the regulation of recreation grounds, village greens, open spaces, or public walks which are under their control, or to the expense of keeping up which they have contributed. They may also make regulations and rules for allotments under their management. They may provide for general use in the parish a fire engine, ladder, a fire escape, and a proper place for their custody, and incur any expenses necessary to keep them in a proper state of repair.

In short, so much may be done in the parish by the Parish Council, that it is the duty of each parochial elector to attend the Assembly of the Parish Meeting, and exercise the privilege of voting for the Parish Councillors. As the amount of the rates could be enormously increased by an extravagant Parish Council, it behoves the parochial electors to see that the right persons are elected Parish Councillors—namely, those who possess common sense, and are really interested in the well-being and advancement of the Parish.

